Mr. Henry Holmes
Coach-Maker

Mr. Henry Holmes

Coach-Maker

Manuscript Letters

a Letter to Dr Lucas

Vindication of the Corporations of Dublin

Occasional Letter from the Farmer &c

a Second Letter from the Farmer

third Letter from Do

fourth Letter from Do

a fifth Letter from Do

a Sixth Letter from Do

a Seventh Letter from Do

an Eighth Letter from Do

a Ninth Letter from Do

a Tenth Letter from Do

Letter to the Citizens of Dublin

Freeholders Adress to the Citz of Du

16 Manuscript Charge to the Grand Jury

17 Copy of the Lord Mayor & of Dublin
with the Surgeon Observations

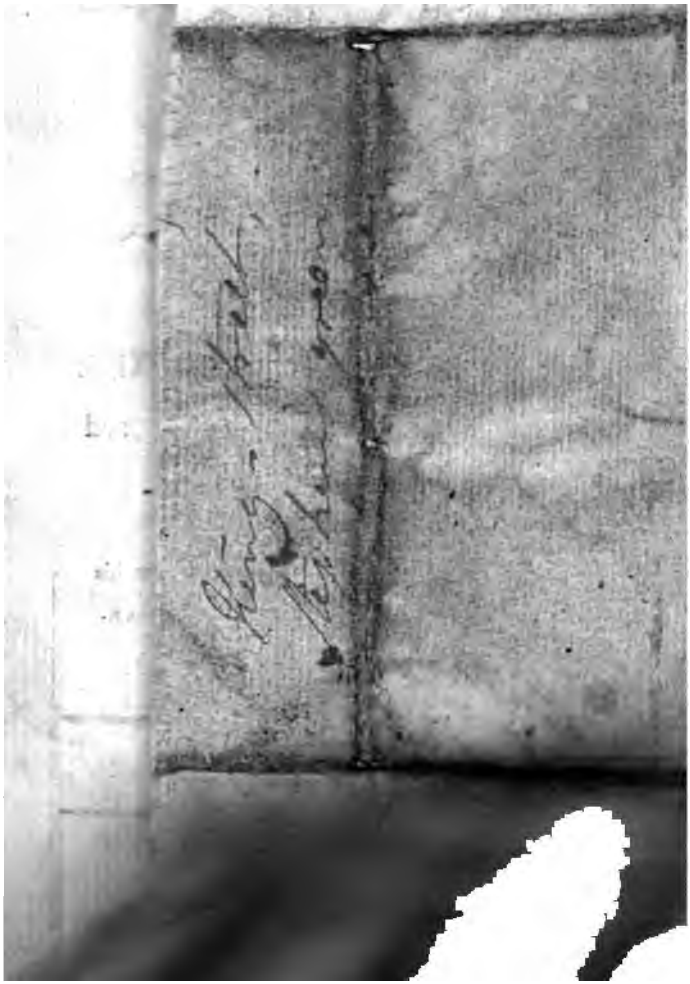
APPENDIX
TO THE
POLITICAL WORKS
OF
C. LUCAS.

Carefully Collected by HENRY HOLMES.
For his own Use, and to Testify his Regard
for that Eminently GREAT MAN.

Who! Take HIM for all, in all we shall not look upon his
Like again. SHAKESPEAR.

DUBLIN Printed, by HENRY HOLMES,

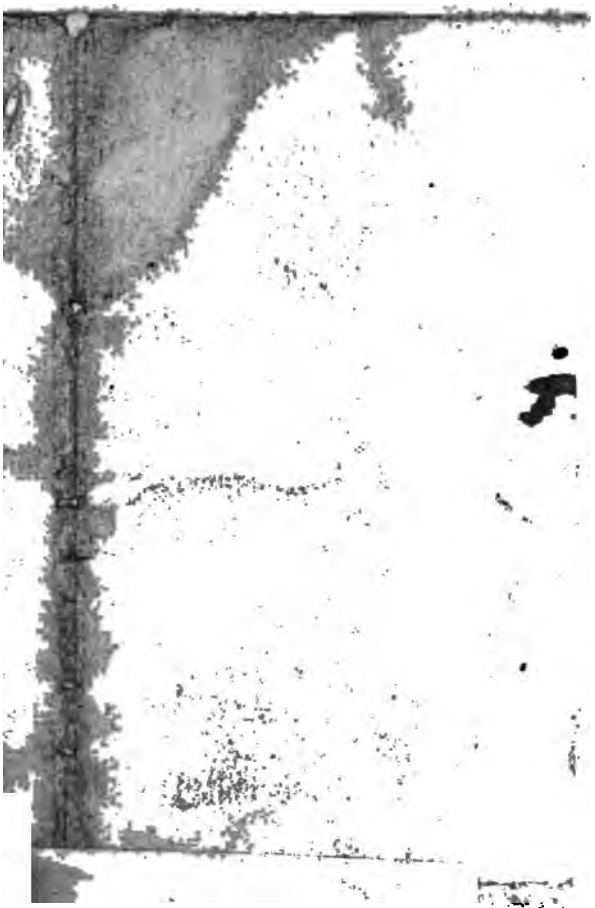
M. DCC. LXXXV.



those, who with
Parts, Honor &
that important

Adieu! My
& believe me

Henry-Street,
June 11.th



A LETTER

To that Truly

PATRIOT-CANDIDATE

FOR THE

CITY of DUBLIN,

Doctor CHARLES LUCAS.

BY PHILO-HIBERNICUS.

——————Patriæque impendere vitam,
Non ſibi ſed toti genitum ſe credere mundo.
LUCAN. PHAR.

Nor frigid caution checks thy free deſign,
Nor ſtops thy ſtream of eloquence divine,
For thine, the privilege on few beſtow'd
To feel, to think, to ſpeak for Publick Good.

DUBLIN:

Printed in the Year, MDCCLXI.

A

A

LETTER

To that Truly

PATRIOT-CANDIDATE

FOR THE

CITY of DUBLIN,

Doctor CHARLES LUCAS.

SIR,

THO' Advice comes with a very ill grace, unless delivered by the grave and experienced, as the venerable and sober deportment adds weight to example, and energy to precept, yet nevertheless we are not to preclude the opinion of every man, who has not been fortunate enough to merit these honourable appellatives.

Age, however paradoxical it may ſeem, is ſometimes known to want experience, and gravity wiſdom; and yet where theſe concur, cuſtom has given a ſanction to every thing they ſay, their decrees are looked upon as the oracles of truth.

As the perſon who takes the liberty of addreſſing you, Sir, cannot arrogate to himſelf any of thoſe qualities which might intitle him to aſſume the dictatorial ſtrain, and as he is alſo convinced that the gentleman to whom he writes ſtands in no need of a directory for his conduct, he reſts humbly contented with recapitulating ſome of the principal circumſtances which may either intitle you to the favour or diſapprobation of your fellow citizens; as it is from an impartial view of theſe points, that the citizens will be able to form a true eſtimate of your ſervices and conſequently the meaſure of their own gratitude.—For if upon a fair enquiry your conduct ſhould appear to have been influenced by ſelfiſh and ambitious views, if you only pulled down thoſe above you, in order to pave the way for your own exaltation, they will teſtifie their abhorrence of ſuch meaſures, by a neglect and contempt of the author; but if on the other hand they are aſſured that your oppoſition was founded in public affection, that the general good outweighed private emolument, that Integrity accom-

accompanied your abilities; then, Sir, your hopes, however ſanguine, will moſt certainly terminate in fruition.

Indeed, to a gentleman poſſeſſed of leſs candour and freedom of ſpirit, a prefatory apology would be extremely neceſſary, in order to beg an excuſe for any freedom of ſpeech which the warmth of friendſhip and the love of truth may extort from the author of the following Letter, but a real lover of liberty, and your writings and actions, Sir, leave you a juſt title to that honourable name can never take offence at a well-meant effort to ſtrengthen ſo glorious a cauſe.

The qualities neceſſary to form the legiſlative character, have been faithfully delineated and amply expatiated upon by you, Sir; and the conſtituents have been properly inſtructed how to conduct themſelves in the choice, not only of magiſtrates, but alſo of repreſentatives to ſerve them in the national council: And indeed, Sir, it is no unpleaſing recollection to find that your generous efforts were ſeconded by the ready concurrence of the citizens; you were not more ready to communicate, than they to receive inſtruction: for, after your maſterly pencil had added colouring to the outlines of the character which merited their approbation, they diſcovered

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at once that the whole was only a transcript of your self, that you were the original from whence the copy was taken, and from a firm persuasion that the man who recommended those excellent qualities in others, would not be the first to abuse them in himself; they unanimously agreed to make a delegation of their rights, the greatest power they could communicate to your care; they acted upon rational principles, and the event proved they were not mistaken.

Time has not obliterated your services, nor weakened their gratitude.

This city, Sir, is as sensible as ever, of the advantages she has reaped from those glorious stands, which you so often and so effectually made against the incroachments of lawless power. Her citizens are conscious, that from a listless inattention to the most glaring infractions of her constitution, they suffered themselves to sink into a state of shameful, abject slavery! Insomuch that the very causes by which they fell, and the means of restoration were equally unknown to them. In this state, Sir, of absolute dominion on one side, and indolent subjection on the other, it pleased heaven to make you the instrument of their redemption, by rescuing

from

from deſtruction the inſenſible victims of ill-gotten power.

The pains, the induſtry and application which you ſo aſſiduouſly uſed, in clearing away the rubbiſh of time, and digging deep for the venerable foundations of liberty, in order to develop the archives and ſacred records of the city, from that cloud of Aldermanic ignorance which ſurrounded them, as it brought you the eſteem and love of every good and virtuous man, ſo it likewiſe attracted the malice and ill-will of all thoſe who had ſo long enjoyed the ſweets of power and private emolument.

The ariſtocratic Lords looked upon the new opened charter as a meteor portending their deſtruction, whilſt the rejoiced Commons, viewed it as the banner of liberty. One party was aſtoniſhed how they had crept up to uſurpation, the other equally amazed, that they ſo tamely ſuffered themſelves to be pilfered of their privileges.

No wonder then, Sir, that the voice of popularity followed the reſtorer of liberty. You maintained the rights, you explained the privileges of the people, and they tenaciouſly adhered to the cauſe of their deliverer, becauſe it was their own, and the cauſe of freedom.

But,

But, Sir, your ſervices to this city, great as they muſt ever be allowed, are ſtill more inhanced, when we take into conſideration the time when you undertook the defence of Liberty and the rights of the people. It was at a period, Sir, when the inhabitants of this Iſland could bear with tameneſs and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, the moſt cruel oppreſſion and wanton acts of tyrannical rule. It was at a time, Sir, when an overgrown faction in the national council admitted or excluded whom they pleaſed, in violation of the freedom of elections. It was at a time, Sir, when the influence of lawleſs ſway was ſo general and uninterrupted, that boroughs and corporations were cruelly ſtripped of their rights and privileges, and became ſubſervient to the mercenary views of their indigent, dependent Lord, whoſe ſtate intereſt increaſed in proportion to their loſs of freedom. You know, Sir, that ſo copious and general was the ſtream of corruption that it reached even the capital. There ignorance triumphed over merit; and arrogance and folly aſſumed the ſacred ſeat of magiſtracy and of juſtice. The people ſaw themſelves governed by uſurpers, who abuſed a power, which they had not ſo much as a right to exert even to the beſt purpoſes, as it had been obtained by fraud and colluſion. The ſupine acquieſcence of the citizens under ſuch melancholy circumſtan-

ces, was only a ſtronger temptation for their arbitrary Lords, to rivet ſtill cloſer the chains of ſlavery and ſubmiſſion.

Advocates were found to juſtifie even theſe enormous ſtretches of power; the uſurpation was ſupported, the hirelings declaimed againſt you, Sir, and there were not wanting men even in high places, who gave to your ſpirited Speeches and animated addreſſes the unjuſt appellation of ſeditious harangues, and rebellious libels: in ſhort, Sir, every enemy to freedom and independency became your foe. Hence, Sir, the cruel proſecution, the extraordinary vote, the malicious preſentment, the nation's diſgrace and your baniſhment.

But, Sir, tho' you ſuffered the moſt extraordinary puniſhment, that perhaps ever was inflicted upon the innocent, yet the nation profited by the ſpirit of freedom which you had ſo induſtriouſly ſpread through the kingdom, and your invincible attachment to the intereſts of your country, inſpired many breaſts to emulate thoſe virtues, which, in your perſon, were obliged to fly from the threats of power and menaces of the great.

In one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three, there was found in the national council

a virtuous majority; for tho' the leaders have ſince deſerted the cauſe by which they gained ſo much glory and honour, yet a noble ſpirit of freedom breathed through all the actions of thoſe who had nothing more in view than the preſervation of the conſtitution. The leaders, by ſerving their own mercenary views, at the ſame time ſerved the cauſe of liberty and the nation. Had they inherited your integrity, Sir, they would not have erected titles, places and penſions on the ruins of violated faith, and injured truth, nor have bartered honeſt competencies for iniquitous ſuperfluity. But altho' their deſertion contributed to weaken it, did not intirely extinguiſh the flame of iberty, many worthy and able men continued firm in its defence, and many have ſince inliſted in the deſerted cauſe, whoſe fame muſt have reached your ears, and whoſe names will be tranſmitted with honour to poſterity, who with truly patriot ſpirits oppoſed the headlong torrent of venality: nor will their honeſt efforts, though unable to bear up againſt degeneracy and corruption be left unrewarded by a grateful people: for whilſt this kingdom has a repreſentative, a Hutchinſon, a Brownlow and a Perry will be found in the liſt of patriot ſenators.

On your firſt addreſſing this city upon the preſent occaſion, your friends, among which number

number you will find all the honeſt, free, independant electors of Dublin, diſcovered the ſtrongeſt inclination to favour your kind diſpoſition towards them; they were not more aſtoniſhed than pleaſed at the ſacrifice you were about to make of private intereſt to publick good, but ſo uncommon in theſe days are actions of generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs, that thoſe who have been ever accuſtomed to adopt a contrary conduct, could not raiſe their ideas of public ſpirit above the level of their own ſelfiſh, narrow and contracted ſouls, nor could they prevail with themſelves to believe the reality of ſuch *out of the way* virtue, as they termed it, but like Feſtus to Paul exclaimed this man is beſide himſelf, too high notions of liberty have made him mad.

Your friends, Sir, well aſſured of your ſincerity towards them, have treated theſe groveling, ſordid, ſneering opinions with that contempt and ſcorn which ſuch ignorant malice deſerved.

The citizens of Dublin, tho' under the influence of that tranſport and elation of mind, which the thoughts of your return naturally inſpired them with, have acted towards you, Sir, in the moſt cool, regular, and diſpaſſionate manner; they have, Sir, given you a ſolemn call, a general invitation requeſting you to take upon you the

difficult, the arduous, the honourble task of legislation.—This, Sir, permit me to say, is the highest favour they can bestow, the strongest demonstration of gratitude you can receive.—They have conducted themselves in such a manner as must give you the highest satisfaction, as it is so truly conformable to your own sentiments, the sentiments of freedom, and to rules which the laws, the guardians of british liberty, prescribe.

In the hour, Sir, when they wished to avail themselves of that advantage which your presence would bring, to the dawning cause of freedom, in the moment when their hopes were highest, when on the pinacle of expectation, they with out-stretched arms waited your arrival. How were the dashed into despondency? how did the fair prospects vanish, when they were assured that those cruel censures illegally imposed, under the sanction of law, were insuperable barriers to your restoration? yet embarrassed as they were how to act, insulted by your enemies, and solicited by your fellow candidates to give up a desperate cause. A murmur never escaped them, your cause was never relinquished, the sentiments of gratitude and love for their country, inspired them with a fortitude that blunted the edge of ridicule,

a firmneſs that baſled the efforts of ſatire, and turned the ſneers of deriſion againſt their enemies: ſo that with a perſeverance only to be equalled by your own diſintereſtedneſs, they have at length paved the way for your admiſſion.

And now, Sir, permit me to ſay, in vindication of your friends in this city, that however fortunate they have been in every effort uſed in your favour, yet they cannot ſo much as charge themſelves, with having uttered one rancorous, one indecent expreſſion againſt their fierceſt, and moſt inviterate opponents.—This Sir, is a conduct widely different from that which your enemies are very ready to charge to your account, and indeed even your friends cannot help acknowledging, that your late addreſſes, are not conceived in terms ſuitable to the importance of the cauſe they would defend. —But great allowance muſt be made, for difference of circumſtance and ſituation; for the man who has been perſecuted at home, baniſhed to a ſtrange kingdom from his children, his friends and his country, by the creatures of power and tools of party, contrary to every ſentiment of reaſon, juſtice or honeſty, is highly excuſable for having in the heat and warmth of his temper, ſometimes thrown out perſonal invectives, againſt the authors, contrivers and perpetrators of his ruin.—However as ſuch

lapſes

lapſes of human nature detract from the dignity of the patriot, and the man, and as theſe imbecillities are purpoſely attended to, by ill-natured and deſigning men, in order to turn them to their own advantage, it would behove you, Sir, to ſuppreſs at this time, that juſt indignation which the ſight of your ancient, unnatural foes, may excite in your honeſt breaſt, guard your temper with more than ordinary circumſpection, and bear up with magnanimity againſt the malice of your enemies, who you, may aſſure yourſelf, will miſs no occaſion of magnfyiing the ſmalleſt inadvertencies into crimes of the higheſt nature; you have ſuffered ſufficiently already by juſtly expoſing the folly and iniquity of ignorant rulers, and evil counſellors, knaves and and blockheads are implacable in their malice, and inſatiable in their revenge, your proſecution and baniſhment are demonſtrable teſtimonies of the truth of this aſſertion; and tho' every action of your's muſt convince the unprejudiced part of mankind, that the publick good was the chief end at which you aimed, yet the methods you took were perhaps too primitive, too open, and too ingenuous for theſe days of craft and diſſimulation, for had ſome of that cunning and ſpacious varniſh, which modern politicians term prudence and caution, covered your purſuits, no breaſt can admit a doubt of your having fully

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compleated your plan of reformation. But you had ſentiments too much exalted above the common level, to adopt ſuch little tricking meaſures however ſucceſsfully they might have been practiced to your own eſtabliſhment. If any errors, through inattention, ſhould have crept into your former conduct, if aſperity was uſed where mildneſs and inſinuating language would have won upon the mind, no eye can diſcern better how to rectify theſe miſtakes than your own.

You are now Sir, returned to you native country, full of honour and full of glory, the city which you ſo long laboured to make free, is about to reap the advantages of your toil and induſtry, magiſtrates agreeable to your original plan, are now to be elected by the ſuffrages of the people; and it is to be hoped your arrival will crown the period that terminates the long triumphant reign of aldermananic influence. No doubt as they are perfectly convinced of your uniformity of ſentiment, and ſtrict adherence to former principles, you will find every obſtacle thrown in your way, that they or their dependant creatures can deviſe. But ſuch ſchemes will be eaſily fruſtrated, whilſt every honeſt, every independant citizen is your friend. However it is neceſſary to inform you, and my zeal for your ſucceſs will not permit me to leave

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any thing untold that may in the leaſt contribute to ſuch information as will be neceſſary for the regulation of your conduct; I ſay, Sir, it is neceſſary to inform you, that your enemies do not picque themſelves a little on that ſuperiority which they expect to acquire from your warmth of temper, and impetuoſity in executing projects favourable to liberty. This, tho' it be the laſt deadly ſymptom of agonizing malice, is no unneceſſary warning, for indeed in the cauſe wherein you are ſo deeply embarked, and from the many wrongs you have ſuffered, it is hard, very hard, to diſſociate from the meaſures, the idea of the men to declaim again the action, and loſe ſight of the actor.

In all reformations whether religious or political, men are naturally inclined to inforce the execution of their peremptory ſchemes, with too much precipitancy. Men who have long been in poſſeſſion of power, often think they have a right by preſcription, to uſe it to purpoſes more calculated to ſerve the intereſts of a particular faction, than for the good of the community.

Thus, Sir, one party is tenacious of holding what it poſſeſſeth, whilſt the other is induſtriouſly imployed in revealing the iniquitous conſequences that muſt flow from ſuch partial diſpenſations of publick juſtice. The latter, Sir, was

men in power to deal with, that in ſome meaſure ſuited the repreſentation given above; no doubt many corruptions might have crept into the higheſt courts of juſtice, and perhaps the greateſt of all was not intirely free from blame: but when the great machine of government hath contracted ſome impediments to it's motion, he would not be looked upon as the propereſt perſon to remove theſe obſtructions, who ſhould ſingly attempt to arreſt the principal wheel; for inſtead of adminiſtering relief, he might, by throwing himſelf within the vortex of a ſuperior force, become the victim of his own temerity. When the liberty of any ſtate is in danger, laws made with a deſign of cutting off immediately the ſources of corruption, often prove more dangerous to the framer, than ſerviceable to the cauſe they were meant to ſupport. It requires time and a courſe of gentle alteratives, to renew the political as well as human conſtitution, we muſt take advantage of every favourable exigency in the one, and friendly effort of nature in the other.

Corroſives would ſoon diſſolve the ſickly frame, and throw the phyſician into diſrepute. But I find myſelf, Sir, running inſenſibly into a province that is far beyond my abilities, and ſo perfectly ſuited to your ſituation, that every alluſion of this ſort muſt naturally ſuggeſt itſelf to your con-

ſideration. The principal end and deſign of the liberty I have taken is, to recommend moderation, by which means your friends will be ſerved, your enemies defeated, and your own labour rewarded by the higheſt teſtimony of affection a grateful people can beſtow. Meddle not with men in power untill ſufficiently authorized, for they are a weight able to cruſh to pieces the moſt formidable individual.

You, Sir, to whom no part of hiſtory can be new, are not at a loſs to recollect how many inſtances we have of the unſucceſsful attempts of thoſe zealous aſſerters of liberty, who were for effecting ſudden reformations in government, neither the uprightneſs of their intentions, the brilliancy of their talents, nor the honeſty of their hearts were ſufficient to ſcreen them from the machinations of thoſe who were ſeated on the throne of corruption: the unhappy fate of the Gracchi, at once the glory and diſgrace of Rome, is a ſtrong illuſtration of this ſad truth. They, Sir, in an age of venality, endeavoured to reſtore equality to the laws, and virtue to the people. They ſtood with unparalleled fortitude and defended the breach which the rapacious patricians, the aldermen of thoſe days, had made in the conſtitution of Rome. They too, Sir, were eloquent, virtuous, full of honour and ntegrity: Yet, Sir, neither theſe amiable, theſe

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ineſtimable qualities, nor the loud voice of popularity could ſupport them from the malice of the great, and the reſentment of the iniquitous governors. They fell, Sir, a ſacrifice to patrician, that is, to aldermanic power. They fell, Sir, and the true, the genuine ſpirit of celeſtial liberty periſhed with them. For you know, Sir, that after the Gracchi there never aroſe a tribune or any other magiſtrate honeſt and generous enough to eſpouſe the true intereſt of the people. Some indeed to promote their ſelfiſh views (and the ſame ſcenes have been acted here during your exile) not only held up the buckler, but weilded the ſword, of what they ſtiled the People's Cauſe, proceeding to the moſt outrageous acts of violence and cruelty, till at length Sylla having ſeized the dictatorſhip changed the very form of the republic, almoſt anihilated the tribunitian power, and reduced the government to an ariſtocracy.

Hence, Sir, we may ſee by the fate of theſe illuſtrious brothers, the danger and difficulty of attempting to bring a corrupt and degenerate people ſuddenly back to the principles of virtue. You, Sir, who without flattery may be ſaid to reſemble the Gracchi in eloquence and honeſty, have been more fortunate in your efforts for liberty.

You

You have lived, Sir, to ſee it, by your means, in a good meaſure reſtored to your native city. You are invited to aſſiſt in a higher ſphere, but not more above your abilities. You are ſollicited, Sir, to repreſent the metropolis of the kingdom, and that not by a party faction, or ſtate influence, but by the generous voice of a free people. You have given us, Sir, a moſt noble earneſt of what we may expect from your integrity, and after this proof, who will be baſe enough to imagine that ſelf intereſt can ever bias your councils, or warp the uprightneſs of your intentions. On the contrary, Sir, my fears, (and indeed they are only borrowed from the doubts of your friends,) are, that your zeal will ſometimes carry you beyond thoſe bounds, which your cooler reaſon would at other moments wiſely preſcribe. If I am diſappointed it will give me ſincere and unmixt joy, and by adhering to the principles of moderation, you, Sir, will eſtabliſh a name equal to the brighteſt of antiquity.

F I N I S.

A

VINDICATION

OF THE

CORPORATIONS

OF THE

CITY of DUBLIN,

RESPECTING

The late HONOURS which they paid,

AND

The late EMOLUMENTS which they endeavoured to procure

TO

Dr. CHARLES LUCAS.

Addreſſed to the PUBLIC.

DUBLIN:

Printed and Sold by the Bookſellers, and Hawkers.

A

VINDICATION

OF THE

CORPORATIONS.

Countrymen,

IT is not merely on Account of any ſingle or ſudden Effort that this Gentleman has made in our Favour; it is not on Account of his late ſtrenuous Attempt to prevent or divert any meditated Innovation upon our Conſtitution, that we hold him deſerving of all the Honours and Benefits that we can poſſibly confer upon him. No, Countrymen, it is on Account of a Series of near Thirty Years of Services and Sufferings, done and ſuſtained by him in our Behalf; it is on Account of his unwearied Application, his long tried Attachment, his never cooling Zeal, his inviolable Fidelity, and the Sacrifices he has made for us of Health, Fortune, &c. theſe are the Things that render our beſt Endeavours to promote his Honour and Intereſt greatly inadequate to the Debt we owe him.

Some Perſons complain of him, as One over-much, over-wakefully, watchful; alarmed by mere Sounds, and apt to bark at Shadows. But, this is far from being a Fault in our Eyes, my Countrymen. Too often have our *Watchmen been no* better than *dumb and* ſleeping Dogs, *or ſuch as have taken* a Sop to let the Enemy paſs.

Where were our Watchmen, Friends, when Part of the legiſlative Power of our Parliament was intercepted by, or rather transferred to a Privy Council of Men to be arbitrarily appointed by the King or his Miniſters?

Where again were our Watchmen, when the judicial Authority of our Houſe of Lords was *tranſported* to and lodged in the Houſe of a different Kingdom, without Appeal or Proſpect of any Reverſion?

I am much too unlearned to pretend to decide on the long conteſted Queſtion, whether the Alteration in the late Corn-Act, either has already innovated, or may hereafter be productive of any Innovation upon our Conſtitution. The moſt virulent of the Court Writers allows the Caſe to be *ſingular*, and ſuch a *Singularity* may juſtly be *alarming*.

His Excellency with his *Engliſh* Secretaries, Chaplains, and Domeſtics, are no doubt ſurpriſed at the Warmth of our public Thanks to this perſevering Man, and at our Attempts to procure him a Penſion from his Country, a Penſion, at leaſt, as truly earned and well merited from the *Public*, as any Penſion ever granted by any King or Miniſter for *ſecret Services*. Strangers, I ſay, may be inclined to aſcribe this Matter to ſome ſudden Ferment or Commotion among us, menacing to good Order and the Peace of the State. It is therefore but juſt to quiet ſuch Apprehenſions, by ſetting forth the Honeſt, the very urgent Motives upon which we have proceeded.

Mr. *Lucas*, early in Life, was bred to the Buſineſs of an Apothecary; and was more eſpecially ſtudied and practiſed in the very curious and ſalutary Art of Chemiſtry. The ſame Probity and Spirit, which has ſince informed all his Conduct and guided him in all his Ways, this incited him, young as he was, to be provident of the Lives and Healths of his Fellow-Creatures. For this Purpoſe, he learnedly and humanely detected and expoſed *the gainful*, though pernicious Frauds in his own Pro-*fe*ſ*ſi*o*n*, *whereby he* procured an Act for the Appointment

of

of capable Inquiſitors, who were duly to viſit the Shops of all Apothecaries and Druggiſts, to examine their Drugs and Compoſitions, and to caſt out and deſtroy whatever was ſtale and noxious, in order to ſave the Pockets and Perſons of the Public from having Bane and Poiſon adminiſtered in the Place of Balm and Medicine.

Soon after, he was elected by his reſpective Corporation, and conſtituted one of their Repreſentatives in the Common Council of this City.

Here was a new Field opened for the Virtue and active Benevolence of his Diſpoſition to exert itſelf. He firſt enquired into his Duties and Privileges, as a Common-Council Man, but found himſelf unhappily precluded from doing his Duty, by being reſtrained and abridged with reſpect to his Privileges. He looked about to diſcover whence the Obſtruction proceeded; he found it came from the Board of Aldermen, and that they, in Fact, were inveſted with the whole Conduct, Controul, and Diſpoſal of the City and all its Revenues.

This occaſioned him to enquire, further, into the proper Sphere or Department that legally belonged to the Aldermen, in the Civic Conſtitution; and, in this Purſuit, he ſearched out and brought to Light all the muſty Records and ancient Charters of this City.

After a long and laborious Diſquiſition, he diſcovered that *Aldermen* were no *inherent Part* of the original Civic Conſtitution. That the *Citizens*, themſelves, had been the *primitive Parents* who begot them. That the Corporations had erected them merely as collateral Props to their political Building. That theſe *adventitious Props*, at length, preſumed to affirm that they, themſelves, were *the City* and the Corner Stones thereof. That they had *ſeized* on the Inheritance which they were called to *defend*. That they had *rejected* the very People by whom alone they were *choſen*. And that they now claimed to be *ſelf-elected* and *ſelf-begotten*, *Rulers* elected of *Rulers* and *Aldermen* begotten of *Aldermen*.

However gradually or insensibly these Usurpations might have grown, it came finally to pass that the People, for whose Benefit the Incorporation was instituted, no longer retained any Share in the Lands or Tenures that had been granted for their Emolument. The Citizens, in effect, had no Voice in the Appointment of their own Representatives; neither had those, whom the Aldermen appointed to represent them, any Sort of Voice or Influence in the Election of Magistrates. As Aldermen had brought forth full-grown and fat-headed Aldermen, from Time immemorial, they had also begotten Lord-Moyors, Sheriffs, Treasurers, and all other City Officers, without Interruption or Controul. They had, by a high Hand, or by secret Corruption, defeated or eluded every Right and Species of Liberty that remained to the Citizens. Whom they would they put down, and whom they would they exalted. They enjoyed and disposed of all the City-Possessions, Revenues, Tolls, Customs, and Emoluments, without Account. They taxed the People to any Degree, or to any Purpose that they judged proper. They discharged themselves of their servile Followers and rascally Dependents, by appointing them to lucrative Pensions at the Public Cost, or to Places of Trust in, and Authority over the City. Mean while no Door was left whereby the wretched Citizens might enter or interfere; for as much as they neither had a Voice in the Ordinances framed for their Conduct, nor even a Negative in the Election of Rulers by whom they were to be governed. In short, this fair City was a *Susanna* given up and viley prostituted to these *five and twenty Elders*; and this insatiable *Paunch of Aldermen* had become full and foul by engrossing all the Nourishment that should have supplied the *labouring Members*.

During this State of *Civic-Tyranny*, *Dublin* remained as neglected and disordered, as if no Rule or Administration of Justice had been held therein. Nightly Maims, *Murders*, Robberies, Burglaries, Plunders, Riots, Uproars were frequent throughout. No Lights in our Streets, no Watch save a few old and impotent Wretches, or such as often abetted and joined the Plunderers.

Whilst

While ALDERMANIC AUTHORITY, appeared as a huge COLOSSUS, beſtriding our Trade, trampling on our Rights, and attended by a Train of Jobbs, Briberies, Corruptions, *&c. &c.*

In the mean Time, the ſtupid Citizens ſlept as ſound and unconcerned as Galley Slaves on the Bench to which they are chained. Deplorable as our State was, we had never known a better. *Slavery* had deſcended to us in the ſame Manner as *Tyranny* had deſcended to the Aldermen; both dropt upon us as an Inheritance from our political Anceſtors. On the one Hand, we thought it our Duty to bow under the Yoke; and the Aldermen, on the other Hand, actually thought they had a right to diſpoſe of the *Public* as *private Prey.*

At length Mr. *Lucas* awaked us. He came upon us, like a ſecond PROMETHEUS who had ſtolen Heat from Heaven to animate our liſtleſs and unactive Maſs. He ſhewed us, from ancient Charters and original Inſtitutions, that our Civic State, though then ſo monſtrous and diſtorted, had been primarily an Offspring of the FREE BRITANIC CONSTITUTION; was, actually begotten and brought forth in her Likeneſs, and had been bleſſed with all the happy and fair Proportions of its BENEFICENT MOTHER. He ſet forth our Injuries, our Grievances, our Oppreſſions; the Uſurpations and Depredations that had been made upon us, and the Indefeiſiblenes of our Claim to our lapſed Privileges and Poſſeſſions, in ſo clear and convincing a Light, that the Aldermen, themſelves, could deny nothing of our RIGHTS —— except the RESTORATION.

Hereupon, about the Year, 1741, Mr. *Lucas*, in our Behalf, inſtituted a Suit, at common Law, in his Majeſty's Bench; and, during three ſucceeding Years, preſſed to have it brought to Iſſue. But the then Lord Chief Juſtice, after many Delays and Evaſions, finally refuſed to admit our Complaints to a Hearing.

This, however, did not diſcourage our zealous Benefactor. In deſpight of the Threats, Enmity, and Oppoſition of the Aldermen, and of the Faction that their Con-

nection

nections and Influence had excited against him, he continued to plead, to solicit, to remonstrate, to inform our Counsels, assert our Interests, reveal our Privileges, publish our Charters, reclaim our Possessions, to oppose our Oppressors, and expose our Usurpers; with a Spirit unparallelled, and Application indefatigable, and a Virtue unassailable.

This was not at all—Mr. *Lucas*, by a strict and sedulous Scrutiny into the several original Grants that were made of inheritable Tenures to the Incorporation of this City, discovered that several of the said Tenures had been aliened by some quondam Board of Aldermen; that some of the City-Lands had been greatly abridged of their pristine Dimensions; that others had formerly been leased out, at an inconsiderable Rent, (to the Relations or Dependents of some ruling Aldermen) whose present Possessors denied any Holding from or under the Board or Incorporation; and that a further Research was still necessary to discover the Traces or Situation of other City-Lands. By which diligent faithful and fearless Disquisition, this *signal Benefactor* has been the Cause and Means of recovering as many annual and perpetual *Thousands*, to this City, as we lately refused him *Hundreds* (for a declining Remnant of Life) in lieu of all his unremitted and inestimable Services.

I am barely at Leisure, thus to touch upon Particulars; it would otherwise require a much longer Narration, to declare to the World what this *new and extraordinary Man* hath done and suffered for us.

He was not satisfied with barely reclaiming our Rights and recovering our Possessions. He had it worthily in his Purpose to make us honest and virtuous, as well as prosperous Men. He conscientiously set forth the respective Departments and Duties of every Magistrate, Officer, and Member of our Incorporation. He further expatiated on the Incomparable Benefits and Blessings of our national Constitution. He accurately delineated the relative Proportions of the three COMPOSING ESTATES; and, by describing the Breadth and Depth of the great Basis on *which we stood*, he taught us to rejoice in our Submission

to a Government, whereon our Prosperity and Happiness could alone be founded.

In or about the Year Seventeen Hundred and Forty Nine, the two Seats of the Representatives for this City became vacant in Parliament, and the several Corporations, duly sensible of the Talents, as well as gratefully sensible of the Services of Mr. *Lucas*, were unanimous in inviting him to accept of this highest of Offices in the State.

In Consequence of repeated Solicitations to this End, Mr. *Lucas* published the following Advertisement.

To the FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

" BRETHREN and FELLOW CITIZENS,

" AT the Instance of several of my Friends and " Fellow Citizens, I am induced, thus, publickly, " to declare, what has ever been an established Principle " with me, that I am always ready and willing to serve " the PUBLICK in every Office of Trust, which I am " judged capable of discharging, and to which I am " fairly and regularly called, by the *unbiassed, uninfluenced Voices* of a FREE and INDEPENDENT " PEOPLE.

" From this Motive, I offer myself a Candidate for " the Place of a CITIZEN to represent you in Parliament; where I may be enabled to vindicate those " RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, of which you have been " *stripped*, and for which I have, hitherto, contended, against the HIGHEST POWERS, in a *lower* " *Sphere*.

" If I shall be deemed worthy of this Trust, the true " Interest and Honour of this City shall ever be my chief

" Care, and YOUR INSTRUCTIONS shall ever be
" the invariable Guide of all the Actions of,

" Your most affectionate Brother

" and Fellow Citizen,

" and most faithful Servant,

C. LUCAS."

It would be quite unnecessary and superfluous to set forth how far Mr. *Lucas*, in his subsequent Conduct, has adhered to these solemn and sacred Engagements. His own invariable Actions, and your own Memories will be his sufficient Orators on this Occasion. I cannot, however, omit that, at the Period of which I am speaking, he had made a great Number of very powerful Enemies. His unbiassed, his undaunted, I may say his over daring Zeal for whatever regarded the *Publick*, the *general Weal of his Country*, gave him a personal Antipathy to the Dead, as well as the Living, who had acted counter to the Prescriptions of the BRITANIC CONSTITUTION, or counter to that Constitution derived to, and claimed by *Ireland*, as a SEPARATE, a FREE and INDEPENDENT Kingdom. This occasioned him to launch out into personal Invectives, against some People, whose Station and Connections gave them great Weight; and, whether this Propensity (as his gentle Adversary observes) is to be accounted *a Fault*, or *Virtue in Excess*, the Parties offended combined against him, and exerted their utmost Interest and Influence to crush him.

Accordingly. Before the Time of Election for City Members, and within a few Days after the opening of the Session, Mr. *Lucas* was called before the House. Where, upon his Confession that he was the Author of certain Books, produced, which, with his own Hand, he had presented

presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; the Committee ordered him to withdraw, and came to the following Resolutions.

RESOLVED,

"That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that "the several printed Papers, intitled, a Dedication to "the King, an Address to the Free-Citizens and Free-"holders of the City of *Dublin*, a *Second*, a *Fourth*, an "*Eighth*, a *Tenth*, an *Eleventh*, and a *Fifteenth* Address "to the Free-Citizens and Free-holders of the City of "*Dublin*, subscribed *C. Lucas*, referred to the Consider-"ation of this Committee, contain certain Paragraphs, "highly, falsly and scandalously reflecting on his Ex-"cellency the Earl of *Harrington*, Lord Lieutenant of "this Kingdom, and tending to promote Sedition and "Insurrections, and openly to justify the several horrid "and bloody Rebellions, which have been raised in this "Kingdom, and to create Jealousies between his Ma-"jesty's Subjects.

RESOLVED,

"That it appears to this Committee, that *Charles "Lucas*, of the City of *Dublin*, Apothecary, is Author "of the said printed Papers.

RESOLVED,

"That it appears to this Committee, that the said "*Charles Lucas* has, in some of the said printed Papers, "scandalously and maliciously misrepresented the Pro-"ceedings of the present House of Commons, and highly "reflected on the Honour and Dignity thereof.

RESOLVED,

"That an humble Address be presented to his Excellen-"cy the Lord Lieutenant, that he will be pleased to direct "his Majesty's Attorney General to prosecute the said "*Charles Lucas*, for his Offence, in writing and publish-"ing the said seditious and scandalous Papers.

ORDERED,

"That the said Address be presented to his Excellency "the Lord Lieutenant, by such Members of this House "as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

ORDERED,

"That the said *Charles Lucas*, for his Infringement "and Violation of the Priviledges of this House, be com-"mitted close Prisoner to his Majesty's Gaol of *Newgate*, "and that Mr. *Speaker* do issue his Warrants accord-"ingly."

Mr. *Lucas* was, quickly after, apprised of his Destiny. But, as he was not yet taken into Custody, he retired with a seemingly pleased Aspect amidst a large Number of his inquisitive Friends and Followers, from whom however he concealed the next to Mortal Tidings.

From the House, Mr. *Lucas* directly went to the *Tholsel*, where the Guild were then assembled, and in high Debate concerning Matters relating to their Priviledges. There he spoke, upon the Question, with his usual Vivacity and Spirit, which confirmed the Assembly in the Opinion his first Appearance had created that he had been acquitted. But the Populace, below Stairs, who crouded the Court and the Streets, had, by this, got Intimation how Matters had passed, and thereupon became exceeding clamorous and outrageous; insomuch that Mr. *Lucas* was under the Necessity of going down to them; where, with great Difficulty, and the utmost Exertion of his Eloquence and Credit with them, he at length prevailed upon them to disperse; hereby giving a public and signal Proof of a Disposition wholly averse to Riot and Tumult, or to any Inclination to avail himself of such Means.

Soon after, Mr. *Lucas* went, in private, to *Newgate*, and, calling for the Keeper, desired him to fit up the best Apartment that the Place afforded; but the Keeper, shaking his Head, gave him gravely to understand that he was not permitted to accommodate him in that Manner.

ner. This alſo, gaining Wind, enraged the Citizens to ſuch a Degree that Thouſands of them confederated to reſcue him out of Priſon, and not to leave one Stone thereof upon another.

On hearing this, Mr. *Lucas* was very juſtly and generouſly alarmed. He feared for his Friends, for his Country, for the State. He dreaded the Intervention of the Military Power. He ſhuddered to think of the Blood that might be ſhed in his Behalf. Humanity, Honour, Gratitude laid him under the Neceſſity of preventing ſuch a Cataſtrophe, by any poſſible Means. And he was accordingly, reluctantly, indignantly, prevailed upon to withdraw from the long endeared, the long ſerved, and beloved, and affectionate Place of his Nativity.

As their quondam Honours did not think proper to ſpecify the Paſſages, whereon they were pleaſed to found their recited Reſolutions; I, alſo, think it a Matter of allowable Prudence not to expatiate beyond the ſaid Letter of their Authority.

I do not chuſe to dwell, on the melancholy, though long Interval of our good Friend's Abſence. After ſome Time of Reſidence in *London*, he went to *Leyden* to perfect his Studies of the *Medical Art*, for which he had been ſo incomparably prepared by his Skill in Chemiſtry, and his Knowledge and long Experience in the Compoſition of Simples. Having taken his Doctor's Degree in Phyſic, he returned to *London* and commenced Practitioner. There, in a ſhort Time, by an extraordinary diſplay of Science in ſome Treatiſes which he writ; and by ſeveral moſt unexpected and happy Cures, he attained to the firſt Stage of Reputation in his Profeſſion, and laterally came into the clear receipt of Three Thouſand Pounds yearly.

At length, on the Demiſe of his late Majeſty, he was again ſolicited, from hence, to return and offer himſelf to repreſent this City in Parliament. His Heart, affectionately, eagerly, embraced an Overture which the Impreſſions of former Attachments had rendered delightful to him. He quitted Eaſe, he quitted Opulence, I may

affirm

Henry Brooke Pogue
Mary Street

AN OCCASIONAL LETTER FROM The FARMER, TO THE FREE-MEN of *Dublin*.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A N

Occasional Letter, &c.

My Countrymen,

THE Simplicity of human Virtue is sufficient Honour and sufficient Ornament. When she puts on Wealth, or Titles, or Dignities, she can deceive our Eyes, and may conceal many Blemishes beneath the Shine of her Dress; but when she is stript of every outward Accession, it is then, and then only, that we behold her as she is, that we can equally distinguish her Charms or Defects, and may with Judgment seek a Fairer among her Kindred, or take even this One to our Bosom for ever.

There is a Citizen, my Friends, among you, toward whom Fortune hath been as frugal, as Nature is lavish. He hath received no Distinction from his Birth, no Grace from his Profession: He is ennobled by no Patents, he is respected for no Possessions. And yet, without Wealth, without Titles, without Dignities, even without the Additions of Art or Education, he hath worthily set his Foot among the foremost in this Kingdom.

Prophecy and Patriotism are Endowments of a peculiar Nature. They are wholly internal; they will admit of nothing from Accident or Acquisition; they are Sparks, which Heaven alone can kindle; that divine Rapture, that Force of Soul, which, like the Inspiration of the *Cumæan Sybil*, dilates the Form, impells to Utterance, and pours out the Orator in a Torrent upon his Hearers.

To what, if not to ſuch a Spirit as this, can we aſcribe the *Powers* of your Fellow Citizen? a Man deſpiſed for his Trade, his Poverty, his Pretenſions! a Fool, (we have ſaid,) a Madman! what is it that he propoſes, what would he be at? can he Dream that a *little Apothecary* ſhould be able to *purge* our *Legiſlature* of its *Crudities?* that in all his *Pharmacopolium*, he can find a *Reſtorative* for the Nation? or that his *Chymiſtry* can *ſublime* a whole People to his Notions of LIBERTY and VIRTUE?—Thus have we rallied; and yet this very Man, againſt infinite Oppoſition, and only aſſiſted by a ſingle Perſon, his *Compatriot* and *Brother-Candidate*, through a Succeſſion of ſeveral Years, with a Spirit unequalled, and an Application unwearied, hath informed your *Counſels*, aſſerted your *Intereſts*, revealed your *Privileges*, publiſhed your *Charters*, reclaimed your *Rights*, oppoſed your *Oppreſſors*, expoſed your *Uſurpers*, and in Spite of *Party*, *Power*, *Authority*, and *Influence*, is now on the very Eve of bringing all that he *projected* to paſs.

It is but lately, very lately, my Brethren, that the Word, PATRIOT, hath had a Signification in *Ireland*; a Kingdom, whoſe Natives, of any Wealth or Conſideration, were either worſe than *Aliens* to their Country, by becoming *Abſentees*, or yet *worſe* than Abſentees by their *Places* and *Dependencies* under *foreign Influence*. A Kingdom, whoſe Offices of *Truſt* were turned into Matters of *Traffic*, whoſe *Funds* for public Utility, into *private Barter* and *Jobb*; while with *Parties* in our *Parliaments*, *Factions* in our *Counties*, *Practice* on our *Juries*, *&c. &c. &c.* we were only ſo far uncorrupted, ſo far ſaved from *Venality*, as we were not judged of ſufficient *Weight* to merit the *Temptation*.

CAN any Good, I then ſaid, *come out of Galilee?*—I now can anſwer. Yes—let me ſpeak it to the Glory of our common Citizens, let me ſpeak it to my own Exultation! that it is here, and here alone; where the Life of ESSENTIAL LIBERTY ſeems at length to

revive

revive; where VIRTUE seems to prepare her SEAT and her HABITATION: That while the *American*, *African*, and *Asian* Worlds, groan under universal *Bondage*; while most of *Europe* hath bowed to the *Yoke*; while those few Nations, who boast *remaining Freedom*, are enslaved by their Appetites, and prepared for outward Chains by inward Depravity; while even in *Britain*, the Terms LIBERTY and PATRIOTISM are secretly ridiculed as *chimerical*, as Topics of Speculation rather than Reality; it is to *Ireland* alone, as to the *Heart*, where the *Animal Spirits*, the *Vital Heat* of *Political Nature* appear to make their Retreat; from hence I trust to re-expand, to inform their accustomed Channels, and carry Life and Health anew throughout the whole System.

Neither is this a sudden Rapture, a turbulent Fit; it is not one of the *Gracchi* who hath enflamed you; it is not a *Massianello* who hath kindled a short Sedition and Mutiny among you: *Faction* will have its *Fever*, and *Enthusiasm* its *Fermentation*; but *that* will abate, and *this* will evaporate. Your's is at once a *loyal* and a *lambent Flame*; it hath had its gentle, its gradual Ascent, and is not yet arrived to its due Heat or Meridian; it is like a Building, which in order to Use, Strength, and Endureance, requires a sober Progression, and mounts from Story to Story, till the Whole is accomplished.

Do ye not find, my Countrymen, that this Spirit is prevalent among you? do ye not feel, growing within yourselves, a Sense of Honour, of Liberty, of Virtue? a Love of Poverty, while annexed to Integrity? a Contempt of Affluence, if purchased by Corruption? I know that you find and feel it. It is not a Spirit that is pregnant with Riots, nor productive of Revolutions; it is the *Restoration* of what is *lapsed*, the *Renewal* of what is *languid*, the *Preservation* of whatever is *valuable* in our happy Constitution. Cease not to cherish and indulge it. It is yet encreasing; it is *growing general* among you. History cannot pro-

duce any Instance of National Virtue so *deep*, yet *gentle*, so *full* without *over-flowing*; You are becoming a Body of PATRIOTS. The Eyes of your neighbouring Nations are upon you, and they only wait for the Maturity of your Example, to follow and be conducted by so glorious a Track.

ARE these Things so? —— Then lay your Hands to your Hearts, and acknowledge from whence the Stream hath flowed. Consider what *Prometheus* it is, who hath stolen this Heat from Heaven, to animate your listless and unactive State.

You are now upon the Eve of the most critical Event, of the most important and interesting Period of Time, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution. Two Seats are vacant to your City in Parliament, and it is not now the Question whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether this Man or that Man shall be chosen. My Friends! the Tryal is between *Power* and *Patriotism*. The Combat is to be fought between our *Potentates* and our *People*, between *Interest* and *Integrity*, between *Influence* and *Virtue*. If you should elect upon the former of these Motives, if you should chuse a single Member from Incitements of Lucre or Solicitation, adieu to all future Prospects! adieu to Liberty! adieu to my Country!

But if, as I rather Trust, you shall fight a good Fight, and finish the Course you have so gloriously undertaken; if you will give the great and expected Testimony of your own Merits, in your Election of those two Candidates, who have nothing but their Merits to recommend them; whose Studies have been incessant, whose Labours have been indefatigable, whose Years have been spent, and whose Persons have been exposed in your Service; (and you will Elect them): Though these Men should hereafter betray You, though it were possible they should prove recreant to the mighty Trust reposed in them; you *will yet have* gained infinite Advantages. You will *inspire our whole* Country with an Emulation of your

Spirit.

Spirit. You will dictate the most glorious Lesson of Duty, that ever was given to our Representatives in Parliament. You will convey, together with the best Security of Priveleges, the brightest Example, that can descend, as an Inheritance, to your Posterity. You will amaze, you will confound your *British* Neighbours, who must blush at their own Corruption and Venality. And you will lastly impress an Honour, in History, upon the *distinguished Period* in which you lived.

When I look back to the mighty Spirits of Antiquity, to those great and Patriot Characters, whom Providence poured in Blessings upon the Countries and States to whom their Mission was appointed; I grieve to reflect on the Ingratitude of human Nature, and that I can find in the History of those ancient Benefactors, scarce any other Recompence, scarce any other Return, than *Destruction* for *Deliverance*, and *Suffering* for *Service*.

When I consider even those awful Heroes and Preservers of Mankind, whose *Counsel* gave Existence, whose *Courage* gave Conquest, and whose *Fame* alone gives Distinction to the greatest Common Wealths that ever were: I behold the *Miltiades*, the *Themistocles*, the *Aristides*, the *Socrates*, the *Phocion* of *Athens*; the *Hannibal* of *Carthage*; and the *Manlius*, the *Coriolanus*, the *Camillus*, the *Scipio* of *Rome*, as so many *Martyrs to their own Beneficence*. And I am prompted to think, that the great *Cincinnatus* had scarce *escaped* the *Salvation* of his Country, if he had not returned to his *Spade* and to his *Plow*.

What is it in human Nature that thus tempts us to envy the Power from whence we derive Advantage? to detest the Fountain from whence Good flows unto us? May Honour and Gratitude, and every noble Sentiment that can inform a Brave, a Free, and a generous People, for ever Defend you, my Countrymen, from the *Equity* of such a Reproach!

Thou

all possible Privacy thus *premeditated*, *prematured*, and as it were *pre-executed*, this aweful Assembly was convened, the grand Consult began, and they thus ordered throughout *Europe* to be published the Wisdom of these their memorable Proceedings.

Proceedings of the Sheriffs and Commons of the City of Dublin, at a general Assembly held at the Tholsel, the 21st Day of July 1749.

WHereas in a Pamphlet intitled, a second Letter to the Commons and Citizens of Dublin, dated May 13, 1749, and printed by James Esdall on Cork-Hill, the following Paragraph was inserted.

'When I found, upon speaking to some of my 'Acquaintance, that you, Gentlemen of the Com- 'mons, were, as usual, but partially summoned, when 'I found in a principal Street in this City, in which 'several Brothers live, who are of the Commons, that 'but some of these Brothers had the Disgrace to be 'summoned, for I must suppose none were called but 'such as were deemed Vassals enough to do what the 'Conclave of Cardinals commanded, and so forth.'

Now, we the Sheriffs and Commons in full Assembly met, having called upon our Officer of Commons, and having strictly examined him with Regard to the Justness of the above Charge; the said Officer, in Justification of himself, produced the undermentioned Affidavit.

County of the City of Dublin, to wit, } SAmuel Morgan, of the City of Dublin, Officer of Commons, came this Day before me, and made Oath, on the Holy Evangelists, and saith, That a out sixteen Years ago, he, this Deponent, was appointed Officer of Commons of the said City, during which Time, he, this Deponent, never did neglect, to the best of this Deponent's Knowlege, upon all

Post-

Poſt-Aſſemblies, and all other Committees, to ſerve, or cauſe to be ſerved, all Summonſes, as this Deponent was directed by the ſeveral Lord Mayors of the ſaid City, nor did this Deponent ever neglect, or omit ſerving ſuch Summons, or Summonſes, willingly, or deſignedly, nor omit ſummoning any particular Perſon, by Order of any Lord Mayor, or any other Perſon, nor did he ever receive any Inſtructions from any Lord Mayor, or any other Perſon whatſoever, to omit ſummoning any Member of the Commons, at any Time, to the beſt of this Deponent's Knowlege, Remembrance, and Belief.

Sworn before me the 21ſt Day of July 1749,
Samuel Morgan. ROBERT ROSS.

The Sheriffs then called upon the Commons, deſiring them to inform the Houſe if any of them could charge the ſaid Officer with ſuch Neglect? to which they replied, they could not. A Motion was then made, and unanimouſly agreed to in ſaid Aſſembly, that the above Paragraph was falſe, malicious, and ſcandalous, and that for the Satisfaction of the Public, and Sake of Truth, have ordered the ſame to be publiſhed in the ſeveral News-Papers of this City.

Signed by Order of the Sheriffs and Commons,
JAMES GODDARD, Cl. Com.

Now, my Friends, and Fellow Freemen, as I have not the moſt diſtant Wiſh to hurt any Man living, either in his Subſtance or good Fame, I will not controvert the literal Veracity of a ſingle Article in Mr. *Morgan*'s Affidavit. It may not, however, be wholly impertinent, to tack a ſhort *Schedule* to the above *Teſtament* of the Common Council; to annex a few ſlight and curſory Remarks, that may ſerve as a kind of *Train to the Dignity of their Proceedings.*

It is above, as you ſee, ſet forth, with all due Form and *public Aſſeveration*, that this Officer was ſtrictly *examined*, with regard to the Juſtneſs of Mr. Lucas's

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ge; I repeat, *strictly examined*, by the Sheriffs, and he Commons, in full Assembly met. Now, what and I understand by *strictly examining*, is shrewd-uestioning, cross-interrogating, re-examining, and roughly sifting. —— Mighty well; all this was remely legal, solemn, and orderly. —— But what es he answer? not a Word; has he not the Man-rs to reply to his Masters? not a Syllable; it is not much as pretended that he did. But pulling out a gative Affidavit from his Pocket, which he had qually prepared for Questions from all Quarters, he mposes it upon this *very examining* and *scrutinous Assembly*, as a Matter of *positive Proof*; and there-upon, this Assembly give their *superlative* Testimony to the Public, not only of this Man's Innocence, and of the Innocence of his unexamined Deputees, and of the more distant Deputees of such Deputations; this had been a light Matter for so substantial a Zeal; they proceed yet further, and against the *uncited*, the *absent*, the *unexamined*, the *unheard Charles Lucas*, they utter their *final Sentence*, and issue their *Condemnation*.

Suppose, now, that some of your arch Wags should happen to lay hold of this same ingenious Affidavit, and should take it into his Head to drop a few Interlineations, without discomposing a Letter, or changeing a single Period: I fancy he might make a very merry Affair of it; let us try what a weaker Attempt might do.

County

County of the City of Dublin, to wit. } SAmuel Morgan, &c. saith, that about sixteen Years ago, *(which was Time enough in all Conscience to learn his Trade)* he, this Deponent, was appointed Officer of Commons of the said City, *(which till of late was a very obsequious and meekly minded City)* during which Time, he this Deponent, never did neglect, *(whatever he might,* have done, *to be now called in question)* to the best of this Deponent's Knowledge, *(for he does not hold it convenient to rummage his Memory)* upon all Post-Assemblies, and all other Committees, *(which he ever looked upon as convened for the sole Purpose of the Aldermen)* to serve, or *(when he did not like the Office)* cause to be served, *(by People for whose Defaults he does not think himself literally answerable)* all Summonses, as this Deponent was directed *(according to the true Purport and Design of such Directions)* by the several Lord Mayors of the said *(so well governed)* City, nor did this Deponent ever neglect, *(to send forth proper Representatives)* or omit serving such Summons, or Summonses, *(as he judged proper to be served)* willingly, or designedly, *(whatever his Deputies might do)* nor omit summoning any particular Person, *(as the Documents he received were general)* by Order of the Lord Mayor, or any other Person, *(however he might have acted,* mero motu, *for their Interests)* nor did he ever receive any Instructions from any Lord Mayor, or any other Person whatsoever, *(for he was so well versed in his Business, he had scarce occasion for Hints)* to omit summoning any Member of the Commons, at any Time, *(that he or his Servants judged it requisite)* to the best of this Deponent's Knowledge, Remembrance, and Belief. *(So help him his present Place, and his Hopes of future Preferment.)*

Thus stands Mr. *Morgan*'s Affidavit, in Substance *and in Form* unaltered; and only illustrated by a few

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collateral Graces, that merely serve to display his Gratitude to his Masters, without impeaching his Veracity, or calling his Honour in Question.

But enough of this Man, and his Negatives. Let us proceed to the criminal Paragraph, which the Commons adjudged so heinous, so impossible to be vindicated, so worthy with its Author of Condemnation.

For this Purpose, cast your Eye but a little back, and you will find that this whole Paragraph, so iniquitously penned by Mr. *Lucas*, amounts to no more than two simple Articles, the first an *Assertion*, the second a *Supposition*: An *Assertion* that he found the Gentlemen of the Commons were but partially summoned, and a *Supposition* that such partial Summonses had a sinister Intention.

With Respect to the Veracity of the *Assertion*, it does not appear that the Adversaries of Mr. *Lucas*, either did chuse, on the late Occasion, or that they ever will chuse to bring it into Debate. But, say, that Mr. *Lucas* had been imposed upon; suppose that you or I had made the like Discovery, by Information or otherwise, suppose that we were misinformed, suppose that we were deceived; yet who *(save the Commons)* will assert, that it is *false*, *malicious*, or *scandalous*, for any Man to be misinformed, for any Man to be deceived.

Let us carry this Matter to its utmost Length. Let us suppose on such Discovery, or Information, or even Misinformation, that the Person, so imposed upon, conceives a Suspicion, that these partial Summonses imply'd some partial and favourite View, Is this Suspicion unnatural, is it unjust? No, my gallant Countrymen, In a Concern so public, in a Matter so nearly and dearly interesting, if the Person so deceived, hath but a *Spark of Patriotism*, if he is a *Lover of Virtue*, if he is a *Lover of Honour*, if he is a *Lover of his Country*, he will not barely suspect, *he will vent*, he will publish those Suspicions,

that

that Truth may be brought to Light; he would be a *Traytor* if he did not.——And yet, your *Fellow Citizen* is adjudged *False*, *Scandalous*, and *Malicious*, for the utterance of a Supposition, to which he was prompted by *Virtue*, obliged by *Honour*, kindled by his *Country*, and which, it would have been the *Breach of all Truth*, it would have been *Treachery*, to have concealed.

O just, O learned Judges! Ye future *Mayors* and *Aldermen*! Ye *Solomons* of the *Island of Saints*! Kings shall come to you from afar, to be instructed in Wisdom! and Queens from the East to attain Judgment and Council!

Was there not One among You, who had the Spirit to remark upon these Proceedings? to require some further Testimony, than the Evidence of a single Person, who was compelled, either to elude the Fact, or to Criminate himself? As he acted by Deputee, why was he not examined by Deputee? why was he not also sworn by Deputee? his Accuser was at Hand, why was he not called for? was the Pale of Interest and Influence so high, that no one Sheep of a Hundred had the Courage to attempt for Freedom? if even one had passed the Bounds, the rest had probably followed; and however in Clemency you might have pardoned your Officer, your Benefactor had escaped the Censure of *Falshood*, *Scandal*, and *Malice*, which now returns doubly barbed into the Bosoms of the *Donors*.

But for whose Sake, *O ye Commons*, did this Man incur your Condemnation? even for *yours*, *ye Givers of equitable Retribution*! for yours, *ye grateful Paymasters* of those who watch over you. His Fault was no other than his *Jealousy* of your Rights, his *Fear* for your Dangers, his *Zeal* for your Interests. Upon reflecting how *long*, how *affectionately*, how *inviolably* he had served you; could you find in his *Wariness* and in his *Warmth* for you, could your Charity,

I say

I say, discover no Motives but those of *Falshood* and *Malice*?

If my Servant, through his Concern for my Property, and Attachment to my Person, is alarmed at a false Report of Robbers, catches up Arms for my Defence, throws himself in the Front of imagined Danger, and in the Bustle unluckily wakens me from a profound Sleep; shall I treat this Man himself as a Felon, merely because he was wakeful to preserve me from their Attacks?

If even the Dog, who guards my Sheepfold, should chance to alarm me, by mistaking a Moonlight Shadow for a Wolf; shall I appoint him a Rope as the Reward of his Fidelity?——I think not—Yet such, *O Commons*, is the Encouragement you give your *Patriots*; such is the *Jewish* Fare, with which you treat those *few Prophets* that are sent unto you.

If ye have done right, defend yourselves, vindicate the Equity and the Honour of this Action, and cast back the Reproach upon me, who stand your Accuser: But if ye have been surprized, or betrayed into this Error, I wage no War with repenting Frailty, and shall be the first to promote and publish your Apology.

F I N I S.

A

SECOND LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT CITIZENS of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A SECOND

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

WORTHY BROTHERS!

IN my last Letter, Page 6. I represented to you, that, You are now upon the Eve of the most critical Event, of the most important and interesting Period of Time, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution. That two Seats are vacant to your City in Parliament; and that it is not now the Question, whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether this Man or that Man shall be chosen. That the Tryal is, between *Power* and *Patriotism*. That the Combat is to be fought between our *Potentates* and our *People*; between *Interest* and *Integrity*; between *Influence* and *Virtue*.

THOUGH this Subject, in the Greatness of its Consequence, demanded my Application and your Attention intire; I was, for the Time, diverted from it, by a Matter of less Weight, but of more immediate Concern to your City.

I NOW return; and lest any should apprehend, that this Combat is to be fought with the Arm of Flesh, I now apprize you both of the Scene and the Parties to the Battle.

THE Scene of the Combat, to which I exhort you, is situated in your own Bosom alone; and the Parties drawn up in Array, are *Prejudice*, *Partiality*, *Favour*; *Appetite*, *Avarice*, *Venality*; *Bribery*, *Corruption*, *Slavery*; with a numerous Host of Attendants: against *Candour*, *Honour*, *Uprightness*; *Sobriety*, *Magnanimity*, *Probity*; *Fortitude*, *Impassability*, *Liberty!* Your Country and your Posterity attending in the Rear, all-anxious and dependent on the Issue of the Conflict.

THROUGHOUT most of our former Elections, the first of these *Parties* hath been indisputably triumphant: Few Abettors of Patriotism shewed their Face; and if any Opposition was given, if any Blow was struck, it was generally by *Interest* against *Interest*, by *Influence* against *Influence*. But the House of *Iniquity* is now no longer divided against itself; they have got Intelligence of your *new levied Forces*; they see your *Virtues arrayed against them*; they tremble for their Seat and their Principality; their whole Powers are united and stimulated to the Battle; and it is therefore, I say, that this Period of Time is the most *critical*, the most *important*, the most *interesting*, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution.

THE Day of this Tryal, my Countrymen, is what my Eyes never hoped to look upon; I rejoice that it

is now at Hand; and though the Forces on our Side should prove unequal to the Enterprize, it will be a Glory in our Favour, beyond a Conquest in theirs, that we struggled for *Truth*, and contended for *Liberty*.

As the happy or unhappy Issue of this Conflict depends upon the Evidence of the Depravity or Integrity of the Combatants, and that it is the Proof of this Distinction which constitutes the Importance of the Trial: It is from the Merits of the *Electors* and not of the *Elected*, it is from the Virtues of the *Represented* and not of the *Representatives*, that we chiefly hope to derive such Consequences, as will give the promised Advantages to our own Country, and the promised Precedent to other Climes.

It is therefore, I have said, that it is not now the Question, whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether *this Man* or *that Man* shall be chosen. With respect to two of these Candidates, you alone can best judge by their past Services and tried Talents, what Fruits you are to look for from their future *Conduct* and *Capacity*. I further believe, with respect to the other two Gentlemen, that there are many among You, who, from Experience, can speak highly in their personal Favour.

But what may this avail them? were they not *Aldermen*, were they not incorporated with *Men* who have *encroached* upon your *Charters* and *usurped* upon your *Rights*; to me it is sufficient Objection that, in a Cause where *Interest* ought to be wholly an *Alien*, they are supported by *Wealth* and *Power*, and abetted by *People in Authority*; and I rather wish to see you betrayed by a Person impartially elected, than served by the Instruments of your Venality and

Corruption

Corruption. It is surely better, my *Brothers*, to deserve Success, than even to obtain it at the Price of our own Demerits.

In this Opposition, however, I am very far from desiring to stir You up into any Animosity against *One of your Fellow Citizens*; and still less, to inspire you with *Envy*, or *Indignation* against your Superiors, against Those, whom Providence, the Laws, and the necessary Order of Society have placed in due Station, and in Authority over *You*.

The Distinctions of Subordination, in every State, are as requisite, as the Relations, in a private Family, between *Parents* and *Children*, *Masters* and *Servants*; and all Constitutions, that have been framed with any Success, or Tendency to good Government, are no other than the orderly Imitations of Nature.

These *political Systems*, however varied, still bear some Resemblance to *natural Proportion*, to the Root, the Stem and the Branches, or to the Head, the Bowels and the Members, where the *Parts*, by a pleasing Gradation, are so intimately united, that they form but one intire and beautiful *Whole*. From the due *Connection* arises *Symmetry*, and from the Symetry *Life* and *Action*, *Health* and *Happiness* must result; till some Member or Portion is *damaged*, or that the Whole is assailed, by such *outward Force*, or *inward Distemperature*, as may threaten a *total Dissolution*.

Comparisons of this Nature are of very ancient Authority; there is no One among You who hath not heard of the Likeness between a *Natural Body* and *political Body*; and in the early Days of old *Rome*, a popular and favourite Orator, applied the notorious Fable

Fable of the *Belly* and the *Members*, in order to reduce the *Plebeians*, of that City to a Sense of their *Duty*. This he happily effected. Permit me also to make use of the like Allusion, in order to reduce the *Commoners* of this City, to a Sense of their *Rights*.

I WILL suppose, in the political Constitution of this Kingdom, that our *serene Sovereign* represents the *Head*; our *Parliament* the intermediate *Heart* and *Bowels*; and we of the *Vulgar* the inferior *Limbs* and *Extremities*, no small nor useless *Portion* of this great and intimate *Whole*.

Now, in all natural Bodies, the Parts, according to their several Degrees, have their several Offices and Functions assigned them, which no other Part hath a right to encroach upon, which they ought not to be permitted to invade.

I HAVE indeed seen Men stand on their Heads, and walk on their Hands, and I have heard of One who penned a learned Treatise with his Toes; such like Inversions of Nature may be Matter of Curiosity, but they can never tend to due Action or Advantage. It is, therefore, as much the Duty, of every Part and Parcel of the Body, to claim and adhere to its own especial Province and Privilege; as it is its Duty to forbear intruding upon the Province of its Neighbour.

FOR instance. It is the Prerogative and the Duty of the *Head*, to direct the whole Body; to receive Intelligence, from every Part, but more particularly from the Feelings of the Heart and Bowels, of all Wants, Grievances and Satisfactions; and, agreeable to this Intelligence, to issue its Mandates, according to the *right Reason* or *Law* of the particu-

lar

lar Conſtitution. Further. It is the Province and the Duty, of the inferior *Hands* and *Feet*, to travel and to labour for the Advantage of the whole Body, and under the Direction of the ſaid *Law* or *right Reaſon*, to *provide*, *chooſe*, and *ſend up* to the Stomach and Bowels, ſuch Supplies and Recruits, as may again return proper Spirits, Blood, and Aliment, throughout the whole Syſtem. Laſtly. It is the Province and the Duty of the *Stomach*, *Bowels*, and *Heart*, to yearn and to feel, even for the moſt minute and outward Extremities of the Body; to receive and give up all Intelligence to the Head; to reliſh and digeſt what alone is healthful for the Conſtitution; and to diſpenſe and promulgate ſuch beneficial Appointments, as may enable the inferior Members, to encreaſe in Action and in Induſtry.

If every Part of this Body was not thus preſcribed, and eſpecially limited to its peculiar Rights and Duties; no one Part could be ſaid to enjoy to itſelf, what its Neighbour might have the Privilege to encroach upon: But where each is duely confined within its proper Sphere of Action, no one hath any thing to apprehend from the Intruſion of another; every Part grows more expert in the Diſcharge of its particular Functions; this very *Diſtinction* preſerves the *Unity*, as well as the Harmony of the Syſtem; from this *Aſſurance of Enjoyment* to each, *true Happineſs* accrues to the Whole; and from this *divided Connection*, this *dependent Independence*, there can alone reſult to All, Life, Health and *perfect Liberty*.

To conclude with this ſimple but juſt Analogy; If the *Stomach* and *Bowels*, ſhould have a *Deſire* and *Craving* after ſuch particular *Supplies of Food*, as night prove *unwholeſome* and *poiſonous* to the whole Frame

Frame. If, on this occasion, they should presume to dictate to the Hands, to send up such *Recruits* as would be agreeable to their *irregular Appetites*. If, in some *depraved Body*, this unhappy *Influence* should prevail, and that the Hands should submit to such *illicit Direction*. I shall not hesitate to assert that the Hands, so *influenced*, would alike prove *Traytors* to themselves, and *corrupted Instruments* of Mischief to the whole Constitution.

WHEREFORE, my *Friends*, as on one Side, I wish you never to *transgress* your proper Limits; so, on the other, I exhort you, that you may not permit your own to be *invaded*. You are not the *Stomach* or the *Bowels*; you are not appointed to be the *Framers* of Laws, or the *Issuers* of Ordinances: But, neither do I wish, that those who are in *Power* and in *Parliament*, should *influence* You to remit them such *Supplies*, as would suit their *Appetites*, more than your own *Interest*.

THIS is the only *Point*, on which I desire to inspire you, with any Spirit of *Opposition*. Let those in *Authority* be content with their *high Station*, and not stoop to encroach upon our *inferior Province*. We want not to pull down the *Mighty* from their Seats, but to exalt the *Worthy* though of *low Degree*. This is our *Prerogative*, this is our *Duty*. It is a *Function*, of which, the present Times and Posterity, our King and our Constitution, our Country and our GOD, demand an impartial *Discharge*. It is a *Right* which the *Great* have ever condescended to *invade*; and this *Invasion* was a *Wrong*, to which the *Little* have almost, universally *submitted*. Separate yourselves from among such *Prostitutes*! Stand forth as the *Chosen* of *Truth* and *Liberty*! And let Unbelievers, for once, be convinced, that *Power* may be unequal

 to

to *Patriotism*, that *Interest* may yield to *Integrity*, and that *Influence* may be conquered by *Virtue*.

When I advise and beseech you to preserve Yourselves, in the above State of *Integrity* and *Independence*; I advise you to the only Means that can possibly attain that *Prosperity*, which must attend on *Freedom* to your *Country*, and that *Happiness*, which must attend on conscious *Merit*, to *Yourselves*.

This State of *Independence*, to which I exhort you, hath nothing in it either of the Cloyster, or the Hermitage; it doth not dissuade you from one innocent Injoyment, neither doth it seclude you from a single Office of Humanity; God forbid!——In every endearing Commerce between Man and Man, *it is Blessed to give, it is Blessed also to receive*. This Kind of *Dependence* makes every Want sacred which *Friendship* or *Charity* can supply. On the very Trespasses and Frailties of our fellow Creatures, it erects our own Feelings of Pardon and Compassion. It is the *Knot of Love* that ties the whole Community of Man. It is the *Chain* that *holds* and *binds* the Universe together.

But that State of *Independence*, to which I would persuade you, is merely an *Independence* from all Kinds of *evil Influence*, either of *Guilt* as Men, or of *Corruption* as Members of Society. This *evil Influence* commences where Appetite passes the Bounds of Temperance and Reason; undue *Appetite* begets *Want*, Want begets *Temptation*, and Temptation begets *Iniquity*. When the *private Man* is thus *debauched*, the *public Member* of Society is not far from *Pollution*. The *natural Cravings* are obvious to *political Baits*; *private Depravity* begets *public Corruption*, and public Corruption begets *national Slavery*.

This

THIS is the natural Course, and inevitable Consequence of Things. Where the *Members* are *tainted*, the *Body* cannot be free from *Pollution*. Almost *all Men* have yielded to *Corruption*; it is therefore that almost *all Nations* have been subjected to *Slavery*.

IS there no *Remedy* for this *epidemic Distemper*? there is, my dear Countrymen, but it lies remote from Practice. We must go back to the Fountain from whence the Mischief flowed. We must delve to the very Root from whence these noxious Excrescencies proceeded. We must oppose *Temperance* to *Appetite*, and *Industry* to *Want*. These indeed would prove *salutary* and effectual *Medicines*. They would do more than restore us. By abridging our Appetites, our *Temperance* would be *Luxury*; by lessening our Wants, our *Industry* would be *Affluence*. This is the *Independence* that would make us truly *free*; this is the true *Freedom* that would make us *valiant*, *virtuous*, and *happy*. Nor, with these Blessings, would we want *Dignities* of the highest *Exaltation*, even *Triumphs*, to which few *Conquerors* have attained; a *Dominion*, to which even *Kings* are *subject*, that of our own *Appetites*, and of our own *Passions*.

HERE would be a Dignity and Dominion, which *Wealth* would never envy, and which *Power* would permit us to enjoy in Safety; since no one grudgeth that to another, which he coveteth not to himself.

NEITHER would this *Independence*, to which I have exhorted you, be productive of Benefits to ourselves alone: Our Superiors would also derive extraordinary Advantages from thence. For as we are equally Idolaters of *Wealth* and *Station*, whether attained by vicious or by worthy Means, whether *disgraced* by *Demerit*

merit or *dignified* by *Virtue*; it is our *servile Dependence* that supports *unjust Power*; our *stupid Admiration* that gives the Glare to *false Honours*; it is from our *abject Attendance*, that *Office* derives its *Insolence*; from the *Baseness* of our *Homage*, that *Wealth* borrows its *Pride*. But would we be *temperate*, would we be *industrious*, would we be *independent* of our *irregular Appetites*, would we be *naturally* and *truly Great*. This borrowed Plumeage would of itself fall from Grandeur; the *Crest* of *Pride* would *sink*; *Station* would learn *Ease*; *Riches* would be taught *Moderation*; *Insult* would vanish from *Office*, and *Audaciousness* from the Eye of an *Irish Landlord*; we might then look up to *Dignity*, without *Diffidence* or *Idolatry*; and draw down to ourselves the Regards of *Deference* and *Respect*.

As all Men have naturally some Tincture of *Avarice* and *Ambition*, I am pleased, that what the World calls *Pomp* and *Place*, are situated so distant from our Expectation; and that the *Temptation*, as well as the *Poison* of those *alluring Baits*, are happily removed both from our Reach and from our Prospect. We are hereby reduced, to the *more ennobling* Necessity, of seeking those *Dignities* within ourselves, which we should vainly attempt by any outward Pursuit.

I ADMIT, that these *internal Treasures* and *Distinctions*, are of a very different Nature from those, which most of our Superiors possess; and yet they are such, as have, heretofore, been deemed superior in themselves to all other Possessions; even *Temperance* and *Industry*, the Fruits whereof are sweet, *Integrity* which we will hold fast, and *Truth* which we will not barter for Diamonds and Rubies.

THESE were, once, the sole *Treasures* and *Distinctions* of the greatest Nations on this Globe; they were

were the only *Pride* and the only *Pillars* of *Sparta* and of *Rome*, on this Foundation they built their former Grandeur, and hence alone they derive their endless Glory. Why may not the same Causes produce equal Effects? why may we not build up our *Country* with equal Materials? but if such a blissful Consequence of our *Virtues* is denied us; they will, at least, be to ourselves in the Place of *Patrons* and *Preferments*. They will be a *Garment* that cannot be worn out, a *Fund* that cannot be spent, a *Feast* that will always relish; they will be *Courage* in Danger and Distress, *kind Companions* in Solitude, and in Death *Life* everlasting.

As I shall come hereafter to unfold at full the *Nature* of *Elections*, and from thence to enlarge on the *Duties* of *Electors*; I will then demonstrate to you, that this *Privilege* is the most *valuable*, the most *interesting*, and the most *important*, of all the *Rights* and *Possessions* of a free Subject. That this is the most *sacred* of all *social Duties*, the most *religious* of all *moral Obligations*. Alas! how often *prostituted*, how generally *profaned!*

I HAVE, now, but barely time, to touch these Subjects as I pass. If your Adversaries, who, on this Occasion, would gladly make a *Jest* of your *Integrity*, and turn your *Virtues* into *Ridicule*, if they will admit, I say, that there was any Thing in this *Institution*, originally intended, beyond a mere Matter of *Farce* and *Festival*; what can they alledge to withold you from the Observance? If it is our *Duty*, shall we not *perform* it? if our *Country* prefers her *Claim*, shall we be *deaf* to her *Demands?* can any Man avow his *Honesty*, while he openly *defrauds* his Creditors? can any Man pretend to *Honour*, while he publickly *betrays* his Trust?

If, a justly scrupulous, and pious Man, shall scarce pardon himself a sinful Wish or Inclination; what must the Guilt of that Wretch be, whose *Sin* is a *Plague* or Contagion, *wilfully* spread, and communicated through a Nation. The *Guilt* of the *Prostitute Elector* is yet more *fatal* in its Consequences, more *extensive* in its Effects; it *descends* to Those unborn, and *widens* through Posterity.

Admit, that general *Practice* may be pleaded against good *Precepts*; will Custom give a Sanction to Evil? will Prescription alter the Nature of Things? or can Precedent give us a Right to elude our own Conscience, and rebel against the apparent Dictates of Truth?

If *Manners* and *Habits* are said to descend from *Courts*, and to flow down from the *Great* as from their *proper Fountain*. If *Fashions*, however *corrupt*, have taken their Rise *above us*. Let us, my Countrymen, for once have the Ambition and the Spirit, to begin one *Fashion* among ourselves. Let us dare to put on this *Habit of Virtue*, and give some of our Superiors a *Precedent*, which, perhaps, on the Account of the *Novelty*, they might be ashamed of themselves to *commence*.

If *Vice* is the *Mode*, what is that to us? Shall an honest down right *Citizen*, or *Countryman*, be ashamed, because his *rustic Coat* is not cut after the *Taste*, or his *plain Morals* trimmed after the *Times*? If we permit ourselves to be divested of these our *honest Garments*; will Those who strip Us, in return, lend us their *Robes* and their *Ornaments*? even so, we should be still left in *Poverty* and in *Nakedness*. *For what may a Man take in Exchange for his Integrity? What*

can it profit him to gain the whole World, if he loses himself.

BUT, some *Electors* may say, they are already *engaged*, by *Obligation*, by *Gratitude*, by *Friendship*, by *Interest*. They are *Dealers*, such a Man is their *Customer*. He is their *Creditor*, they are therefore his *Slaves*. Or, perhaps, they have been *solicited*, *surprized*, or *shamed* into a *Promise*; they are Men of *Honour*, their Promise is their *Bond*, a *Judgment* entered against them.

BUT what is all this? an *Obligation* of a *Hair's Retention*, a *Tie* of *rotten Thread*; in comparison of the *precious Chains*, and *Cables* of *Nature*, of *Truth*, of *Liberty*, of our *Country*. Shall an *Attachment* to *one Man*, to a simple *Unit* among *Milions*, burst and cancell the *Debts* and *Obligations* to *Mankind?* Is it the *Candidate's Interest* or *Emolument* that is sought? Is that the Purpose of his Election? Is it a Matter of *private Concern* to the *Elector* or *Elected* alone?

NO, my Brethern, the *Concern* is *public*, and *such ought your Search and your Election to be.*

REMEMBER, *my Countrymen*, that while *Samson* retained his *Integrity*, such like *Cords* of *Philistine Slavery* were to him but as *singed Towe*. But when he became *leagued* in *Vice*, and *debauched* into *Affinity* with the *Enemies* of *Israel*; he was speedily *shorn* of his *Strength* and of his *Virtue*. He was *bound*, he was *blinded*, and appointed to the *Drudgery* of the *Ass*, and to the *Burden* of the *Camel*.

The End of the SECOND LETTER.

A

THIRD LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT CITIZENS of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A THIRD

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My dear and much respected Countrymen,

IT is said, that when a *Farmer* takes up the *Pen*, he ought to hold it as though his Hand were better accustomed to the *Spade*; that he should never transgress the narrow *Sphere* to which he is assigned by his Profession: and that, when he is no longer with-held by his *Plow-chain*, he should yet, like the *Squirrel* in a late Fable, continue to range and frisk within his usual *Limits*.

UNDER such due *Correction* and *Reproof*, and admitting all this to be matter of just *Admonition*;

where can we find a *Sphere* so open, a *Province* so expanded, as that of a *Farmer?*

THE *Goddess Liberty*, to him, is like the inspiring *Geniuses* of *Socrates* and *Numa*, still instructive at his Ear, or attendant on his Steps. What, though my native Hills, neither *fatten* with the *Olive*, nor *blush* with the Juice of the *Grape*; though my *Morsel* should be *hard-earned*, and my *Cloathing* no better than the *coarse* Wool of my own Flock; yet the Security of this *Property*, the noble Sense of this *Independence*, can *sweeten* the one, and *refine* the other.

WHILE I thus enjoy Advantages, whose Value knows no Price, I envy not the *Luxury* of *Vassalage*, nor the *precarious Possession* of *Slaves*, and I am ready to cry out, with Mr. *Addison*,

BUT, what avail their unexhausted Stores,
Their blooming Mountains, and their sunny Shores,
With all the Gifts, that Heav'n and Earth impart,
The Smiles of Nature, and the Charms of Art,
While *proud Oppression* in each Valley *reigns*,
And *Tyranny usurps* their *servile* Plains?
The *sad* Inhabitant beholds in vain
The red'ning Orange, and the swelling Grain;
Joyless he sees the growing Oils and Wines,
And in the Myrtle's fragrant Shade, *repines*;
Starves, in the Midst of Nature's Bounty, *curs'd*,
And in the loaden Vineyard, *dies* for Thirst.

O *Liberty*, thou Goddess heav'nly bright,
Profuse of *Bliss*, and pregnant with *Delight!*
Eternal *Pleasures* in thy Presence reign,
Ev'n *Poverty* grows *Plenty* in thy Train;

Eas'd

Eas'd of her Load Affliction treads more *light*,
Sickness and Pain look *chearful* in thy Sight!
Thou mak'st the gloomy Face of Nature *gay*,
Giv'st *Beauty* to the Sun, and to the Day,
'Tis *Liberty* that crowns *Hibernia*'s Isle,
And makes her barren Rocks, and her bleak Mountains *smile*.

Is it then unnatural, for a *Farmer*, to express Ideas with which he is daily conversant? or rather, hath he not, above all others, a peculiar Claim to Inspiration from *this Subject*? He is not immured in Courts, nor pent in with Crouds, neither is his Vision straitened or abridged by the Closeness of Objects; his Soul, like his Eyes, hath room to expatiate; and all that he sees, all that he contemplates, join to assist the *Freedom* and *Reach* of his Thoughts.

THE *extended* Fields; the *aspiring* Mountains; the *ranging* Flocks; the *soaring* Birds; the Rivers *flowing freely* in their appointed Channels; the Planets, in the Midst of a Circuit apparently spontaneous, *preserving*, through the boundless Tracts of Æther, *a Course*, wholly *regular*, *harmonious*, and *orderly*, admonish him to preserve himself, and (as far as in him lies) his Country, within that *Medium* where *true Liberty* alone can dwell, between *Chains* and *Anarchy*, between *Slavery* and *Licentiousness*; and surely, He, who encroaches on no Man's Tenure, may be admitted to walk at large; He, who rises with the Lark, may be allowed to sing with a little Rapture.

I CANNOT, my dear and worthy Bothers, too frequently inculcate that *important* and *pressing Duty*, which Posterity, and the present extraordinary Occasion, require, and insist upon at your Hands. Your

Sentiments

AMONG Others, there is a certain *Declaimer*, who hath very lately publiſhed this his Charitable Opinion, of his Country, and of his Species. He is One however, whom I ſhall not attempt to raiſe from a juſt Obſcurity, by Recital of his Name; nor ſhould I have deſcended to take the leaſt Notice of his Performance, if his Droſs had not received both Sanction and Currency, from the Stamp and Approbation of a Body of Gentlemen, againſt whom I may enter the Liſts with Honour, though, at the ſame Time, with abundant Reluctance.

THUS flouriſhes the *Rhetorician*.

" TRUE Patriotiſm is a Flower of a moſt tender
" and delicate Nature. The fine Soil it delights to
" be planted in, the Care and Diligence required in
" the Management and Cultivation of it, to bring it
" to Maturity, gives me great Room to fear we muſt
" expect but a very few Slips of it to adorn even our
" fineſt Gardens in this remote frigid Region."

LO, my Friends, how the Applications of the Wiſe, and the Struggles of the Valiant, the Toils of Nations, and the Cultivation of Ages are dwindled into the Capacity of a *delicate Noſegay*, are ſhrunk into the rare Production of a *tender Flower!* What a *Mouſe* hath this Man's *Midwifry* brought forth for the *Offſpring* of ſo many *Mountains!* Hath the Blood of our generous Anceſtors manured this Land, merely to generate this *idle Infant* of the Spring, this tranſient and *fruitleſs Abortion* of their Labours?

BUT, if *Patriotiſm* muſt of neceſſity be a Matter of *Vegetation*, why a *Flower?* why a *Thing of Inſignificance*,

nificance, just to smell to, and cast away? Why not rather this *Oak* of *Virgil?*

Ac veluti annoso validam cùm robore quercum
Alpini Boreæ, nunc hinc, nunc flatibus illinc
Eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et alte
Consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes:
Ipsa hæret Scopulis: et quantum Vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.

As when the Winds their airy Quarry try;
Justling from ev'ry Quarter of the Sky;
This way and that the mountain Oak they bend,
His Boughs they shatter, and his Branches rend;
With Leaves and falling Mast they spread the Ground,
The hollow Vallies echo to the Sound:
Unmov'd, the royal Plant their Fury mocks,
Or shaken, clings more closely to the Rocks;
Far as he shoots his tow'ring Head on high,
So deep in Earth his fix'd Foundations lye.

Dryden.

Here would be a *Vegetable* somewhat worthy of Comparison, with *steady*, *sublime*, and *well grounded Patriotism*. Here, though *Floods* should circle, and *Tempests* assail; though *Influence* should endeavour to sap, and *Contention* to overturn; the *Patriot*, like the *Oak*, would be attempted in vain; for his Root would cling to the *Rocks*, he would hold fast to his *Integrity:* And as high as his Actions should aspire to Heaven, as broad as his Beneficence should branch upon the *Earth*; so wide and deep beneath would his *Resolution* extend, *unshaken*, since *adhering to Virtue*.

" fix themſelves in their Room, and afterwards " laugh at and deſpiſe the Crowd who had joined " them, and had helped them to fill up the Chorus in " the Cry of *Slavery* and *Oppreſſion*."

In Charity, I am loth to call upon this Author for Proofs of theſe Facts, however boldly aſſerted; where the bare Explanation of his Meaning might bring his perſonal Safety into Queſtion for a Sarcaſm, ſo maliciouſly, and ſo without Exception caſt on a King, an Adminiſtration, and a whole People, wherever they be.

I shall, therefore, no further animadvert on theſe two very inſtructive Paragraphs, than to obſerve to you, that the firſt would evidently inſinuate, that there is no ſuch Thing as even a *Slip* of *Patriotiſm*, of *Public-ſpirit*, of *Love of Country or Community*, of *diſintereſted Honour*, of *unbiaſſed Benevolence*, neither in *Eſſe* nor in *Poſſe*, neither in *Fact* nor in *Capacity*, throughout this extended Kingdom of *Ireland*.

That, the ſecond Paragraph, indeed, kindly attempts to comfort you, on the Receipt of ſuch melancholy Tidings, by giving you to underſtand, that your Neighbours are not a whit better than yourſelves; and that, however a Country may be *loſt*, *ruined*, and *enſlaved*; however corrupt or vicious an Adminiſtration may be, the *Struggles of Patriotiſm*, and the *Profeſſions of Virtue*, ſimply mean no more, than an *Attempt at the Spoil*, and a *Portion of the Plunder*.

Now, as we cannot but ſuppoſe, that ſo pious a Preachment muſt intend ſome Application; I would adviſe with you, my Countrymen, what Moral you are to infer.

I..

In Truth the only Instruction, that I conceive he can propose, is, that you ought equally to acquiesce under the Spur and the Bitt of all who hold the Reins of Government. Since, *there is no Choice nor Disparity of Rulers.* Since, *all Men in Power are Vermin, who equally prey on the Body Politic.* Since, no *Man seeks Advancement, but in Prospect of being one of the same pernicious Species.* Since, *there is no such Thing as disinterested Integrity upon Earth.* Since, *private Lucre is the sole Incentive that alike animates human Nature.* Since, *the Soul of every one living is alike subject to Prostitution, provided you can make up the Difference of the Price.* Since, *your choosing this Man or that Man is like shaking the old Bag of Millers where a Thief must of Necessity come out.* And that, *as you the Electors, and the Elected, are indiscriminately a Pack of Scoundrels, it is none but a Knave who can naturally represent you.*

Is not all this extremely candid, and charitable in him? What an amiable Mirror must a Man look into, who should draw from himself such a Picture of Humankind.

But, my Brothers, if we have any right Conjecture of the Kingdom that this Author speaks of in the above Paragraph, no History, no Time, no Annal of Heroism, no Record of Fame, can boast a Country so *obliged*, so *benefited*, so *honoured*, by her *Patriots*. What stupendous Characters! What sacred Names! What watchful Councils! What bloody Effusions! What Senates of *Solons!* What Hosts of Decii! How hath the Wisdom of Nature been stretched, how have the Veins of the Valiant been exhausted, to *form*, *support*, *cherish*, and *bring to Maturity*, this unexampled *Constitution*, this Perfection

fection of *Policy*, this Coalescence and grand Effort of every *human Virtue*.

If there is yet any Decay or Falling off among them, if the Sun of their long Day begins to decline from his Meridian. Is it not because the Populace have passed the Bounds of Temperance, and have acquired Appetites beyond what their Industry can supply? What further Defence against Bribery and Slavery, where the Head-piece of Reason is forsaken, and the Shield of Religion cast away? Such as are the *Electors*, such will be the *Elected*. *Corruption* cannot be *represented* by *Incorruption*. He who sells himself to Bondage, hath no right to complain that he is disposed of at Pleasure.

But this is an Extremity from which I trust they are yet far distant. There are still a Myriad among them, who have not bowed to the *Baal* of Influence. There are not only *Ten*, but *Tens of Thousands* yet powerfull in their *Righteousness* to save even a *Sodom* from Destruction.

In their *State*, though all are allowed to watch over the *Course of Government*, and to give public Warning of any *observable Deviation*, but a very Few are admitted to the *Direction* of the *Chariot*; and no One can be justly charged with any *intended Error*, who hath not a *Place* on the *Box*, or a *Hand on the Rein*. Even among those Few, we have the other Day received the most illustrious of all Precedents, in the Conduct of *a Patriot*, who voluntarily forsook the Seat of Government, because he was not permitted to give such a Direction to Affairs, as his great Zeal advised him, would have most conduced to the Benefit, and to the Glory of his Country.

He

He put all *worldly Advantages* into one Scale, his own *Integrity* into the other, and the former kick'd the Beam. Do you think then that he returned less Bright or less Eminent? no. By thus descending from *nominal* he arose to *real Honour*; by thus divesting himself, he shewed that all *Additions of State*, had served but to eclipse *his personal Lustre.*

But, my worthy Countrymen, if *Patriotism* is not confined to exalted Station; if it is not the Extent of Power, but *the Expansion of a generous and social Heart*, that truly constitutes this *distinguished Virtue:* We need not take any Voyages for the Discovery of this *pretended Phænomenon.*

There are Numbers among ourselves, *who daily go about doing Good*; whose *Studies*, whose *Fortunes*, whose *Labours*, whose *Lives*, *are wholly dedicated to the Service of their Country:* But as my Age does not admit of a long Recollection, I shall only mention from my own Observation, within fifteen or sixteen Years past, what *Fruits* you have already gathered from this plenteous *Tree* of *Patriotism*, so abundantly hath it been nourished by the Dews of Heaven, so widely and beneficently is it spread over this Land.

Our *Charter Schools* equally schemed for the Cultivation of Mind and Body for the Advancement of Industry and Propagation of true Religion. *A Society* formed in this *Metropolis* for the Improvement of Science and the Encouragement of National Manufactures. *A Musical Society* for Relief of insolvend Debtors. *Stephens's Hospital.* The *Charitable Infirmary. Mercer's Hospital.* The *Hospital for Incurables.* The *Hospital for the Relief of Lying-in Women*, have all within that Term, been planned, instituted,

instituted, supported, and conducted, by the Wisdom, Generosity, Application, and Attention of our *private Patriots*, without the Assistance of any National or Parliamentary Donation.

FROM this last most useful and wisely founded Benevolence, *for the Relief of Lying-in Women*, the People of *London* have condescended to take Example, and on the like Scheme have erected an Hospital in *Middlesex*; as they also, about the Year 1740, erected a *Foundling Hospital*, upon the Plan of ours at the *Poor House*: And thus that Benignity and *Patriotism*, which hath been so warmly kindled in this Kingdom, is already advancing, and spreading its happy Influence to other Climes.

Do we allow ourselves any *Recreation*, do we admit of any *Entertainment* that doth not in some measure partake of this *benevolent Spirit*? Our *Plays*, our *Assemblies*, our *Musical Appointments*, the *Air* of our *public Walks*, as I may say, breathes *the very Air of Patriotism*.

Is not this whole Kingdom to *our* MADDEN, as one Village was to the *Man of Ross*? In what Manufacture doth his *fair Flower of Patriotism* not *flourish*? through what Science doth it not *spread*? in what Spot of this Nation doth it not *take Root*? Is it not *Corn* to our Husbandman, *Manure* to our Mountains, *Culture* to our Desarts, *Employment* to our Crafts, *Trade* to our Merchants, *Housewifry* in our Houses, *Harvest* in our Fields, *Elegance* in our Arts, *Learning* in our University?

HAD his Ability been greater, his Benefits had been yet more extended: Had his Talent been smaller, his Virtue would yet have been the same.—— According to your several Capacities, *go You and do likewise*.

The END *of the* THIRD LETTER.

A 6

FOURTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A FOURTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My beloved Brethren,

ALTHOUGH I have always had that Attachment to this Kingdom, by which every Man is bound to the especial Service of the Country, from whence he derived his Birth and Nourishment; though I further feel that *allowable Partiality* for this my native Soil, without which, few People have *Spirit* to proceed even to the Extent of their Duty: Yet those Regards, till very lately, have been general, and unmixed with the Consideration of any Place, or Sett of People, as distinguished, by a particular Interest or Claim, from the Rest of the Inhabitants of *Ireland*.

WHEREFORE,

WHEREFORE, when I was told that you complained of ſome Uſurpations of Authority in your City, *I was One of the* GALLIOS *who cared for none of theſe things*; and I held it to be Matter of little Conſequence to you, and of leſs to my Country in general, whether this Authority had been *duly*, or *unduly obtained*, provided it was *duly exerted*; whether You were governed by *Theſe* or by *Thoſe*, provided you were governed with Equity.

WHEN I was further informed, that *Two* of your *fellow Citizens* had attempted to excite you to a Reſentment of theſe Encroachments; I looked on them as a Couple of turbulent Tribunes, who breathed more of Faction than Reformation; and I determined, to the beſt of my Ability, to oppoſe ſuch a Spirit; and to vindicate thoſe your Rulers, in their Aſſertion of the Authority they poſſeſſed.

FOR this purpoſe, I took ſome Pains to be acquainted with the particular Circumſtances of your Caſe.

BUT when I clearly underſtood the Nature of *this Innovation*: That it was equally contrary to the *whole Tenor*, as to the *expreſs Grants* of your CHARTERS. That *Aldermen* were no *inherent Part* of your original Conſtitution. That You yourſelves had been the *primitive Parents* who begot them. That You had erected them merely as *collateral Props* to your Political Building. That they now preſumed to ſay that they themſelves were *your City* and the *Corner Stones* thereof. That they had *ſeized* on the Inheritance which they were called to *defend*. That they had *rejected* the very People by whom alone they were *choſen*; and that they claimed to be *ſelf-elected* and *ſelf-begot-*

ten, *Rulers* elected of *Rulers*, and *Aldermen* begotten of *Aldermen*: Then indeed my Advocation became mute, and Silence was the only Instance of Friendship they could expect, where Pleading had been absurd, and Vindication impossible.

SHORTLY after, when I heard, that *Those your two* CHAMPIONS had spirited you up to a public Demand, for the Repair of this Breach in your Constitution; and that they had actually undergone great Fatigues and Expence in their Endeavours to bring the Matter to an Issue in your favour: As I began to look on the Motive of their Labours, in a Light, very different from that in which it had formerly appeared; I own I most heartily wished Success to their Undertaking, in any Method that Law and good Government would admit: For as we have a wise Maxim in our Policy, that generously injoins us, *to suffer a partial Injury rather than a public Inconvenience*, I would exhort you for ever to suspend the Redemption of your particular Rights, rather than to redress yourselves, by any Means that might embroil either the Peace, or the peaceful Disposition of your Country.

AS I was not, at that time, engaged to you, by any personal Attachment, or singular Esteem; the Motive, that excited my Wishes in your Behalf, was general, it was wholly National, but it was also of the utmost Importance.

THE Constitution of these Kingdoms, my Countrymen, is free, in a Manner, and by Appointments, highly superior to any that *Rome* or *Greece* could ever boast. We ourselves sit in the *Senates* or *Parliaments* of these Nations by our Election of such Persons as we request to represent Us there;

: choose to think with their Heads, to speak with ıeir Voices, and therefore in them we dictate and ıstitute those Laws whereby we ourselves desire to e governed. I can further alledge, that from these ıugust Representatives of the whole People, down to the meanest Subject in either Realm, there is no Man who can legally be abridged of his Life, his Liberty, or his Property, but by the judgment of Peers, or Jurors, appointed by his own Consent; since he is intitled to a Negative upon every Person, against whom he can form any feasible Objection.

As I knew this to be the glorious and unprecedented Constitution of these Kingdoms in general, *where no Person is limited, save in his Capacity of Michief*, and *where the Powers of the Legislature are so universally communicated, that each Person joins, by himself, or his Proxy, in the Appointment of those Ordinances to which he consents to submit*; and this I knew to be the Essence of PERFECT LIBERTY: I concluded, that all the *Incorporated Systems*, all the *lesser Institutions*, that were conceived within this great and GENERAL PARENT, bore the *Image* of their BENEFICENT MOTHER; and I am still persuaded, however they have *degenerated*, that they were *originally begotten and brought forth in* HER *Likeness*.

WHEREFORE, when I found, in so *considerable* a System as the *Incorporated Society of the Metropolis* of this Kingdom, that the People, for whose *Benefit* the Institution was formed, *had no share in the Disposition of Property granted for their Emolument, no Voice in the Ordinances framed for their Conduct, nor even a Negative in the Election of Rulers by whom they were to be governed*: It appeared to be an *Offspring of so monstrous a Depravity*, so wholly alien and *opposite to our general Constitution*; that I could not but

but look upon it, as *an iniquitous Encroachment on publick Liberty*; a *kind of mortified Spot in a Limb of the great Body Politic*; and how far the Infection might ſpread, how widely the Permiſſion of ſuch a Precedent might influence, was fearful to Reflection.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, indeed, that as I was no way intereſted in this Affair, further than an Individual, whoſe warm Wiſhes for the Publick extended to all the Branches thereof; I did not find myſelf diſpoſed to a Mood, equally wrathful, with that of your *particular Patriots*; I found no Reſentment ariſe within me againſt your *Lords*, whether *Mayors* or *Aldermen*.

THERE are ſome among *thoſe Gentlemen* to whom I am perſonally engaged, as well by a voluntary Affection and Eſteem, as by extraordinary Obligations, I ſaw that they were not the primitive Intruders; I ſaw that they came peaceably into the Poſſeſſion of your Privileges; and I further conſidered, that the original Uſurpation might have been effected, as much by the ſhameful Treachery or Remiſneſs of your own Predeceſſors, as by the Invaſion of Thoſe who firſt availed themſelves of your Poſſeſſions.

WHEN the preſent ſet of *Aldermen* were inveſted with Authority, they found you Strangers to your own Intereſts, they found you Blind to your own Rights. There is a certain Seaſon aſſigned to ſome Creatures, before which, their Eyes will not open to the Light. If ſuch was your Caſe, was it the Buſineſs of the *Aldermen* to haſten this Period?

IF I become ſeized of an Eſtate, whereof ſome of my Anceſtors, without my Knowledge or Privity, had unjuſtly poſſeſſed themſelves, If, thereafter, the

right

right Owner ſhould put in his Claim. I ſhall yet be accounted ſufficiently honeſt, if according to all Cuſtom, I withold the Poſſeſſion, till evicted by the very long Courſe and Judgment of the Law. If, however, upon Conviction of the Demandant's Right, I ſhould voluntarily ſurrender the Poſſeſſion; I imagine that this would be looked on as an Inſtance of ſingular Juſtice. But no One will ſay that it was incumbent upon me to be over ſedulous in the Search of another Proprietor, or inquiſitive after Rights ſuperior to my Own.

THERE are, my Brethren, two Kinds of *Guardianſhips* in our Law; the one of *Minority*, the other of *Ideotiſm*; the firſt *accountable*, the ſecond *without Account*; the one, of Perſons ſuppoſed *capable* of an Underſtanding to which they have not yet arrived; the other, of Perſons ſuppoſed *incapable* of arriving to any Underſtanding at all.

Now, ſhould a Minor attain the Years in which the Law admits him to the Intelligence of his own Intereſts, ſhould he yet decline to intermeddle; ſhould he ſhew no Senſe of Property by any Challenge or Aſſertion: It will be Wiſdom, as well as Policy, in his Guardian, to conclude that he hath a *Right* to continue to diſpoſe of that Perſon with his Property, who thus demonſtrates that he hath not *Reaſon* to diſpoſe of himſelf; and ſhould this Guardian happen to die during ſuch Inſenſibility, that very *Ward* who was claimed by the *Anceſtor* as a *Minor*, will be claimed by the *Heir* as a *Fool*.

Such was the very Caſe between you and the *Aldermen*. The preſent *Board* entered upon the Guardianſhip of your Perſons, and the Diſpoſition of your Properties, when ſome of you ſeemed to be of a full

Age

Age, and moſt of you, in Appearance, were at the Years of Diſcretion. *You did not however claim the Election of your own Guardians. You never made a ſingle Motion to call them to account.* The two *ſpecific Characteriſtics*, the very *Criterions* of Ideotiſm. No doubt then but their Surprize was great, and their Alarm not inconſiderable, when after ſo *long a Suſpenſion of Intellects*, ſo confirmed a Preſcription againſt your *common Senſe of Things*, you were ſuddenly rouſed from your Lethargy, and awakened to the Knowledge and Aſſertion of your Rights.

But, now, you will ſay, that you have a clear *Underſtanding* of thoſe Rights, and a *Capacity* of thoſe Properties. Now that all Eyes perceive that thoſe are your *Robes* with which Aldermen are *inveſted.* Now that the Aldermen themſelves deny nothing of your *Privileges* ——— *ſaving the Reſtoration.* Why do they yet retain, wherefore do they with-hold them?

In Truth, my Friends, I have, on this Occaſion, run throughout Hiſtory, I have ſearched among the Moderns, and ranſacked the Antients, to find ſome Example wherewith I might reproach *theſe ſame Aldermen*, to find ſome Precedent of *Great Men*, who once ſeized of *undue Power*, have at any Time offered a voluntary Surrender thereof to the *Proprietors.*

Alas! what an idle Journey, what a fruitleſs Diſquiſition. No Trace of ſuch a Virtue can I diſcover, except in an old Romance of *Theſeus*, and in the modern Inſtance of *Alderman* Ross *your preſent Lord-Mayor*, who is at once the higheſt *Honour*, and the higheſt *Reproof* to his Fraternity, who not only makes a Tender of every Article of your Claims with which he himſelf is inveſted, but hath alſo engaged to ſolli-

cit in Parliament the full Restoration and Establishment of all your ancient Privileges.

But, my dear Countrymen, do not consider this my Apology for your Aldermen, as an Approbation, in any measure, of their Conduct. If I shew you that there is no Necessity for flying into angry Passions, because Great Men behave—*like Great Men*; this doth not declare, that Authority is a Sanction for Injustice, or that Precedents for *Wrong-doing* give a *Right* to similar Actions. No Mode, no Custom, can reverse the Nature of Things; and whatever is intrinsically iniquitous will always continue so. *Truth* in every Case is like our *King*, or our *Church*, against which Lawyers say, *nullum Tempus occurrit*, there can be no Prescription; and one of the *principal Maxims* whereon our Constitution is pillared, is this, *Quod ab initio non valet tractu temporis non convalescit*; in plain English, *That which was originally against Reason, can never be made reasonable by length of Time*, alias, *Your Aldermen continue the same Iniquity in with-holding your Rights, that their Predecessors were guilty of in usurping them.*

I am therefore no way inclined to dissuade you from attempting the Recovery of your *Privileges*, by all the Means in which you yourselves are *privileged*, to reclaim them; by *Petitions*, *Addresses*, *Remonstrance*, *Solicitation*, *Suit*, by every Method that is consistent with that *right Reason* on which your Claim is founded, and which indeed ought to be the *principal Motive* of your Demand, that is, the *Well-being of Society*, the *Restoration of what is lopped from our Constitution*, the *Re-establishment of what is lapsed in our Country*.

The

The Seſſion of our Parliament approaches. Such a *National Concern*, as I have proved yours to be, will come beſt before the Repreſentatives of a *Nation* who are wholly intereſted in it; and if you and your Countrymen have heretofore ſet any Value, even on thoſe Privileges, of which no Man hath yet attempted to deprive you; if you have been careful to return ſuch Conſtituents for your Country, as were moſt knowing, and moſt zealous in the Welfare thereof; your Concern will be their Concern, your Intereſt their Intereſt; in them you will give Ear to your own Pleading, in them you will judge your own Cauſe, and there is no Queſtion but you will meet with ample Redreſs,

If, on the contrary, you have *betrayed your own Truſt*, what Faith are you to expect from Thoſe *who repreſent you?* If you have elected your Conſtituents through *partial Motives*, is it among ſuch you are to look for a *public Spirit?* If you have been falſe to *your Country* in your Appointment of her Servants, the Meaſure you gave to Her will be meted out to Yourſelves. If you have thus iniquitouſly neglected the *great Body of your Privileges*, you will be equitably abridged of the *ſmaller Members* which you claim.

But Time yet ſerves. All is not loſt, my Brethren. Much Power is ſtill in your Hands. If you have a Senſe of paſt *Detriment*, if you now feel the *Smart* of former *Woundings*; let it warn you to your *approaching Defence*, let it inſtruct you to your *future Preſervation*. Never look for a Reſtitution of what is *already pillaged*, if you are not reſolute in your *Vindication* of what you *yet retain*.

You are once more permitted to a free Election of your Representatives; and the Objects of that Election will thereby be commissioned to assert your remaining Interests, and to reclaim your lapsed Rights. I will ask you then a simple Question. Whom do you intend to appoint for this great Purpose? is it the Men who already are *invested* with your Privileges, or is it the Men who already have laboured for their *Redemption?* is it those who have *plundered*, or those who would *restore?*

A LATE *Censor*, in a Treatise on the ensuing Election, hath told you, that "*Grandeur, Riches, or Honours, are no Disqualifications; that you are not confined in your Choice, with respect to Aldermen, Commoners, Merchants, Apothecaries, Brewers,* &c. *and that he is not against Aldermen, merely as Aldermen.*" But I have already told you, and again repeat it, that on this very critical and particular Occasion, *Grandeur, Riches*, and *Honours*, are such Disqualifications, as no Merit, no Capacity, no Integrity should reconcile to you; and that you have no way left to retrieve or attain a Character of that Virtue which you now profess, but by thus detatching yourselves from all Suspicion, all possible Imputation of Influence. Further. If I have not yet sufficiently explained myself on the Chapter of *Aldermen*, I now declare, that you are especially, you are indispensably precluded from glancing at *that Quarter*, and that, *I am peremptorily against Aldermen, merely as Aldermen.*

But, *Farmer*, you may say, whence this Prejudice and Aversion? what Objection have you so pointed and particular to Aldermen?

NONE other, I answer, than to my Friends, or to my Kindred, to Those I most affect, to Those I most esteem

esteem, should they sue for my Favour in the *Voice of Authority*; should they apply for my Preference, while they are *vested in my Rights*. My Exception to that *Board* is altogether *political*; it is not to their *private* but to their *public Merits*; I have nothing to object to them as *Men*, I have every thing to object as they are *Aldermen*.

Are they not *Aldermen* who are unduly seized of *Part* of your Property, and is it with *Aldermen* that you would deposit the *Remainder* of what you hold? Are they not *Aldermen* who *refuse* a just surrender of your Privileges, and is it *Aldermen* whom you would appoint to *solicit* the Restitution?

If I am in search of a Steward, whom I would have attached to my Interests and faithful to my Trusts; shall I fix on that very Man for the *Guardianship* of my Possessions, who already unjustly *withholds* from me a Portion of my Estate? If I have occasion for an Advocate to plead my Cause, shall I reject all others, to choose one from that Party against whom I propose to commence my Suit, shall I be sedulous and careful to select a Man engaged by his Interests to oppose or to betray me? Should I be so far a *Felo de se*, a *self Destroyer*, the Event would rest upon my own Head, and my Punishment would be as equitable, as it would be grievous and certain.

It may possibly be retorted upon me, that the very Man, who hath engaged to solicit your Rights against *Aldermen*, in *Parliament*, is himself of the *Board*.

True, my Brethren, a *Ross* may be an *Alderman*, but every *Alderman* is not a *Ross*, neither is *Ross* a *Candidate*, I should then have suspected the Sincerity of

of his Professions. But your *Aldermen Candidates* give you no Room to suspect their Sincerity; they have made you no Professions of such Surrender or Solicitation; and I am persuaded that they are Gentlemen of too much Honour and Ingenuity, to give you a Colour for flattering yourselves with the Hopes of a Conduct, so opposite to their Interests, so wholly contrary to their Intentions.

A CANDIDATE was so called, from the *Whiteness* of that Robe, which every *Roman* was obliged to assume, who stood for a public Office. It was an *emblematical Promise* of that *Integrity* and *Purity*, with which he engaged to be invested during the Trust.---- But what *Robe*, O ye Citizens, is *this*, in which your *Candidates* demand your Confidence, and stand up for your Employments? Even the *Garment of your Properties*, and *the Investiture of your Rights*. They address you for *Honours*, while they are crimsoned in your *Injuries*. They apply for fresh *Favours*, while they are laden with your *Spoils*.

THAT Man, who votes for *such*, puts a new *Link* to his own *Chains*, a new *Rivet* to his own *Fetters*. He declares himself an *Abettor* of the *Wrong*, a *Confederate* in the *Pillage* of his Country; and wherefore, if not in Prospect of sharing the *Plunder*.

IN the Account which *Virgil* gives us of *Æneas*, the great Ancestor and Founder of the *Roman State*, when *Turnus* sued to that *Hero* for his Life; *Æneas* was greatly moved in favour of the Suppliant, till he observed him *invested with the Spoils of his Friend*.

The Lines are these,

——— Stetit acer in armis
Æneas, volvens oculos, dextramque repressit,
Et jam jamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
Cœperit, infelix humero cum apparuit alto
Balteus, & notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri: victum quem vulnere Turnus
Straverat, atque humeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
Ille oculis postquam sævi monumenta doloris,
Exuviasque hausit: furiis accensus, & ira
Terribilis: Tune hinc spoliis indute meorum,
Eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
Immolat, & pœnam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.
Hoc dicens, ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
Fervidus.———

Which I thus take the Liberty to translate.

Stetit acer in armis Æneas, volvens oculos, dextramque repressit. The free Citizens of *Dublin* stood resolute and armed against all Kinds of Influence, they cast their Eyes on the *Aldermen Candidates*, and for a while were suspended in their Choice.———*Et jam jamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo cœperit.* And now more and more the good Services of the one when Lord Mayor, and the known Loyalty which the other inherited from his Ancestors, began to incline them in their Favour.———*Infœlix humero cum apparuit alto Balteus, et notis fulserunt cingula bullis Pallantis pueri.* When lo, the ravished Garb of *unhappy Liberty* shone eminent and distinguished on their Shoulders.——*Victum quem vulnere Turnus straverat, atque humeris inemicum insigne gerebat.*

Whom

Whom the Predeceſſors of theſe Men had overthrown in a former Combat, and whoſe Spoil they had delivered down to be worn by their Poſterity.——*Ille oculis poſtquam ſævi monumenta doloris exuviaſque hauſit, furüs accenſus, et ira terribilis.* The Citizens, when they beheld this cruel Memorial of their pillaged Poſſeſſions and their deſolated Privileges, were kindled into Reſentment, and grew formidable in their Anger.——*Tune hinc Spolüs indute meorum eripiare mihi?* Shall you, they cry'd, exult in Trophies torn from our Anceſtors, and in the Enjoyment of Rights that ſhould deſcend to our Children? *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat, et pœnam ſcelerato ex ſanguine ſumit.* Our City gives you this Chaſtiſement, our Country ſends you this Diſgrace, and by us inflicts the Puniſhment that is due to your Depredations.——*Hoc dicens ferrum adverſo ſub pectore condit fervidus.* So ſaying, they lifted up their Voice in their Integrity, and pierced those *Aldermen* to the Soul with the Diſhonour of a *Repulſe.*

The End of the FOURTH LETTER.

A

FIFTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A FIFTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My Countrymen,

ONCE upon a Time, the Sheep of a certain Place perceived, that, through the Cowardice of many, the Indolence of moſt, and the Want of Unanimity in the whole Flock, they were perpetually expoſed to Invaſions and Ravages. They therefore determined on the Election of ſome Creature for their Guardian, who by the Extent of his Knowledge ſhould be capable of their Intereſts, and by the Depth of his Integrity ſhould inſure their Confidence and Repoſe.

PROCLAMATION

PROCLAMATION was accordingly made, their Intention was publiſhed; and inſtantly, Creatures of all Species became urgent for this Office.

IT is wonderful and pleaſing to reflect, on this Occaſion, that, though no Matter of Profit was annexed to the Employment; yet, the ſeveral Pretenders ſollicited, they promiſed, they threatened, they bribed, they ſued to each Individual apart, they tried all Wiles to compaſs this barren Poſt: Such is the great Power of Virtue and Benevolence, ſo very common a Thing is diſintereſted Labour, ſo univerſal is Patriotiſm and a public Spirit.

AMONG many Animals, whoſe Pretenſions I ſhall, for the preſent, decline to mention; the *Wolf*, the *Fox*, and the *Maſtiff*, were admitted as Candidates; each flouriſhed at large on his proper Abilities, and with due Oratory ſet forth the peculiar Reaſons of his Claim.

MY Friends, ſaid the Maſtiff, I come before you this Day, not to requeſt a Favour, but to ſue for Acceptance, not to demand a Benefit, but to make a Tender of Service.

YOU are not to conſider, on this important Occaſion, what may be due out of Friendſhip, out of Gratitude, out of Partiality to any living. If any one among you is obliged or indebted, let him be grateful and juſt; but let him not diſcharge his private Incumbrances at the infinite Expence of public Damage.

IT is the Intereſt of *yourſelves* and not of your *Candidates*, the Advantage of the *Electors* and not of the *elected*,

elected, that ought, in any measure, to influence the Choice you are to make: For if Freedom and good Counsel shall guide your Determination, great will be the *Benefits* you provide for *your Flock*, *Toil and Care* will be the only Portion you confer on your *Guardian*.

Wherefore, if you know any, more capable, more active, more zealous for your Service, less attached to private Interest, more informed with a Love of public Welfare, than myself; it will be your Duty as well as your Policy to reject me: For wherefore should I be incumbered with personal Trouble, if the general Emolument may not thereby ensue?

How far I may be partial to my own Talents I know not; but, sure it is, that if I did not think myself equal, as I feel myself willing and warm to this Task; I should not have applied for so toilsome a Preference. It is in you alone to judge the Merits of your Candidates; and I trust your Judgment will be prudent; I know it ought to be free.

It is therefore, that I have not sollicited, I have not sued, I have made use of no private Influence, I have laid hold of no personal Friendship or Attachment, to obtain your Voices for the Employment to which I now pretend. The sole Advantage I look for, is to be thought worthy of your Confidence; the sole Honour, to be deemed capable of so superior a Burden.

It is in this Prospect alone, that I acknowlege I have an Ambition, an Eagerness, as I may say, for your Appointment to so glorious a Task. Why should such a Spirit be thought a Thing incredible? Every one is born with a certain Portion of Love, some with less, some with more, some with Affections

that

: are closeted and condensed, as it is the Lot and light of mine to be open and expanded.

NEITHER have these Affections been hitherto barn of Benefits to this Flock. Would you know hat I would do, reflect on what I have done for ou. Judge the Future by the past. Let your Expectation be built on Experience; and where I may be deficient in Self-commendation, let my Actions be my Orators, and let your Memory supply the Tongue that may be wanting in my Favour.

BEHOLD this Nakedness and this Poverty; I am neither cloathed with your Fleeces, nor fattened with the Flesh of your Lambs: In my Wants I have watched over you, and in my Hunger I have kept you from becoming a Prey.

OBSERVE your Walks and your Boundaries; I have searched out your ancient Limits; I have enquired into the Measure of your Folds; I have opened the Extent of your Pastures. I have asserted what you held; I have reclaimed what you have lost; some of your Bounds I have enlarged, and nothing is lapsed among you since I first attempted your Protection.

I HOPE my Services will not be considered as less affectionate for being voluntary, or as less disinterested for being done without Fee or Reward. If you shall judge it expedient to appoint me to higher Employments, if you are inclined to honour me with any Marks of your Confidence, I shall receive them as Incitements to encreasing Duty, I shall accept them as Obligations to a warmer Zeal. For I cannot become less diligent for being commissioned to Action, nor less faithful for being entrusted with your Well-

HERE the *Maſtiff* ended, and the *Fox* roſe up.

GENTLE Flock, ſaid *Reynard*, liſten not to what that ſly Dog may pretend, neither ſuffer yourſelves to be duped by the Subtilty of his Inſinuations. We all know his Propenſity to Buſineſs and to Barking; and I aver that he hath effected ſome ſmall Service to our Fold. For I was never of an envious or malignin Nature. A generous Temper will give Praiſe even to the Appearance of Merit.

THE Gods grant that the Creature may be ſincere in what he hath done, and that it may not be a Pit, ſunk, for your deeper Perdition. He never offended me; I have no Objection to his Advancement; in any private Concern I ſhould wiſh well to the poor Animal. It is for your Sake alone that I am jealous, it is your Intereſt that makes me tremble.

Timeo Danaos et Dona ferentes. That is to ſay, a Politician will fear the Snake that may lye hid, under florid Show, and proferred Service. The Truth is, that I never liked theſe furious Friendſhips, this ſupererogating Zeal, this Frenzy of Patriotiſm; it is a Fermentation whoſe Subſtance boils over at the Top; the Bottom is all hollow and uneſſential.

WHAT Thunders will ſometimes ariſe from Vapour, what Attempts from Vanity! how are we alarmed at the Noiſe and Bluſter of the Elements, till we reflect that it is occaſioned, by nothing but Wind. I am confident that People of your good Underſtanding, will conſider Things deeper than their mere Shews and Appearances. Your Fleece is not your Fleſh, the outward Garment is not of a Piece with the

the Body it conceals, and the Veſſel ever differeth in Nature and in Subſtance from the Reality and Tendency of the Liquor that is contained therein. So differeth the Subſtance of this Maſtiff's Machinations, from the Garb that he hath aſſumed in order to diſguiſe them.

Truſt me, his Sentiments of Patriotiſm are very prettily expreſſed; fine Notes in Muſic, an airy Kind of Inhabitants, the elaborate Compoſition and Quinteſſence of Sound. But how, think you, will theſe delicate Entities, theſe Forms of the Imagination, withſtand the Froſt of Penury, or abide the Fire of Probation? Do ye find the Reality of their Exiſtence in yourſelves, is each of you ready to be ſacrificed for the Flock? if not, wherefore do ye credit the Profeſſion in another? can you be ſo ignorant as not to apprehend what the Strut and the Boaſt of ſuch Paraders muſt ſignify? and that He who walks ſo ſteadily and courageouſly to the Altar, can never intend Himſelf for the Oblation or the Victim.

I ADMIT that he has thruſt himſelf, buſily enough, into your Concerns; I allow that his Actions carry ſome Merit toward you, whatever may be the Motive that lurketh beneath. But, had he any other Method to effect your Ruin? Small Services are political Ladders, the very Steps to intended Miſchief. A Perſon muſt firſt gain your Commiſſion and your Confidence, before he can poſſibly be enabled to betray you.

You are not now to be informed, my dear and tender Brethren, of the natural Fierceneſs and dire Bent of this Animal. That he hath hitherto reſtrained his Propenſity to Violence among you, ſhews as amazing a Check of Temper, as Profoundneſs of Stratagem.

tagem. His bridled Wrath and his Rapaciousness are layed up for you in Store. Can any innocent Passenger travel the Road, without being disturbed or terrified by his perpetual grumble? Beware of the Teeth that are now so often shewn in your favour. The Day will come that may find them a different Employment; when he shall turn them to the worrying of that very Flock, whom thus uncalled, thus uncommissioned, he takes upon him to defend.

I MAY aver that such Depredations will be pardonable in him; for were his Nature wholly free from that Malice and Treachery which may fearfully be imputed to the whole Tenor of his Conduct; yet his Poverty must subject him to irresistable Assaults, for who can patiently endure under perpetual Goadings, the Keenness of Hunger and the Ravenings of Want?

THE Gods be praised, my gentle Brothers, this is not the Situation of all your Candidates. There are some of us who have Wealth superfluous to our own Occasions, wherewith to enrich our Minions and to gratify our Favourites. I have my Poultry Yards, and my clovered Pastures whereof I never taste, to regale a visiting Sheep, or any Friend of the Flock.

WERE I of a ravenous Nature, yet the Temptation would be taken away. The Rich can have no Appetites that are not already satiated; all my Wishes and Desires are fulfilled from my own Stores.

CAN you then hesitate a Moment on whom you should fix your Choice? on the Person who is prompted by his Abundance to supply and oblige you; or on the Person who is goaded by his Penury to seek your Damage? on him who wants for nothing but an Opportunity to serve you; or on him who

hath no Means of ſerving himſelf, but by taking your Wool for his Covering, and your Fleſh for his Prey.

Here the Fox was ſeated, and the Wolf aroſe.

Conscious Grandeur and Dignity were apparent in his Mien; and he wore the fineſt Fleece conſpicuous on his Shoulders, which in ſome Meaſure he had diſguiſed from the Obſervation of the Flock, by a little Tincture of Purple and the Art of the Loom.

He ſpoke, and ſmiled ſuperior.

My very honeſt and innocent Neighbours——On Solemnities of this Nature, there is, no doubt, a kind of Ceremony and Form to be obſerved; for though no one can ſuppoſe you ſo ignorant of your Duty, as not previouſly to know where your Election muſt light; yet Appearances ſhould be regarded, a kind of Pretenſion to ſomething called *Choice*, or *Liberty*; which, for aught I know, might formerly have had ſome *Meaning* in your Conſtitution.

When the Great condeſcend to aſk, and the Mighty put in their Claim; I cannot chooſe but ſmile at the amazing Inſolence of puny Competitors. In your Nomination of me, you can confer no Honours; yours alone will be the Glory and the Advantage of ſuch an Election. Power is the natural Ally of Weakneſs, and who ſhall dare to Appeal againſt the Plea of Authority?

In reſpect to the Pretenſions of my Puppy Rival yonder, our Couſin *Reynard* hath ſpoke with his accuſtomed Wiſdom, and therein hath ſaved me a Trouble I am well enough pleaſed to avoid; ſince I could never boaſt much of your Patriot Appetites for Fatigue.

Fatigue. Yet, my Neighbours, you may hold it prudent to treasure this further Hint in your Memory ———that whoever shews himself the Abettor or Favourer of that same Snarler, declares himself an Enemy to all the Beasts in the Forest.

To what an everlasting Grumble the Wretch is stirred up, by his secret Repinings and Envyings at his unregarding Superiors. How speedily we could crush him and all his Adherents to nothing. Let him not be alarmed however; he is safe in his Meanness, his Protection is ensured by our Contempt.———But a very little of this may be too much, upon a Subject so infinitely beneath our Notice.

In regard to myself, and with respect to that indefeasible Claim which I hold to this Election, it is too evident, to admit the Possibility of a Controversion, in the Dignity of my own Person, and in the Power of my Alliances. Large are the Domains in which I range, neither have the Fences of others been hitherto able to set a Limit to my Walks. I am further strengthened by the Force of many Friends, and by my Kindred among all the Brutes that are of any Nobility.

I shall not give you or myself much Trouble upon this Subject, Rhetoric may have its Use where there is Occasion to persuade. In your Election of a Person, such as I am, deputed under the due Influence and Fangs of Authority, you will do well to crouch in Safety beneath so broad a Protection. But were it possible for you to decline this Tender of our Guardianship: We shall be apt to interpret your Refusal into an open Declaration of Hostilities; and when the Forests begin to howl, and my Brethren of the Mountains descend, who then shall be able to wrest *you from the Keenness* of our Resentment?

THE Wolf closed his Harangue, a long Murmur ensued; when at length a Ram stept forth from the Midst of the Flock; and after a modest Pause addressed the Assembly as follows.

MY dear Kindred and dearer Friends——I am, as you see, a Native of this Fold, simple therefore in my Speech, but very honest in my Intention. I hope then that you will excuse the Absence of the Orator, and take up with Expressions of a downright and honest Heart.

As I imagine we are come together, not in the Way of Joke, but seriously to consult on the Welfare of our Flock; I shall give you my Thoughts with as much Freedom as good Will.

I WILL first remark to you, that since it is our own Good alone which is the Thing to be considered in our Choice of a Guardian; we ought not to wait, till a Kind of People called *Candidates* bespeak us for themselves. If we are to choose for ourselves, we ought also to search for ourselves; each of us should have looked abroad; we should have examined into Actions, Characters, and their Causes; we should have made a thorough Inquiry into Merit; and have delivered a faithful Return of our several Discoveries to the Fold, that so by the joint Consent of all our Brethren, the worthiest might be picked out from among the Worthy.

THE first Advantage, that would arise from this Method, would be, in its giving us a greater Scope for Election. We should not then be confined to five or to fifty Candidates. We would have the World from whence we might cull at leisure and at large;

and

and if we did not fix on a Guardian fit for our Purpose, the Fault would lie in our Want of Discernment, and not in the Scarcity of Virtue.

A SECOND great Advantage would arise from this Method, in making our Election wholly free, and independent of any kind of Influence whatever; since we would then choose by our own Will, and by our own Judgment; without regard to Offers, Addresses, Recommendations, or Authorities. We would then, as it were, search for the Liquor we liked, without having it pressed and compelled to our Lips.

A THIRD grand Advantage would arise from this Method, in the extraordinary Obligation we should lay on our *Guardian*. He would not then be his own *Offerer*; he would be our *Elect* alone. We would not pay him the trifling Compliment, of preferring him to a Few, perhaps of little Merit; we would distinguish him by our Choice from among all living Creatures. Such a Preference would bind him tenfold to our Persons, and to our Interests. The Guards of Honour and Gratitude would be doubled upon his Fidelity; and the Cry of Shame and Reproach would be doubled upon his Treason.

IF in Modesty he should happen to decline this special Honour, it would then be our Business to entreat, and by our Caresses *to compell him to come in*. But if the Necessity of his private Affairs, or his private Indigence were any Obstacle; it would be our public Interest to allot him an Equivalent for his Damage, and a Reward for his Toil: So should he be bound to us in the twofold Trust of a commissioned Guardian, and of a hired Servant; and we should take away from him all kind of Pretence, for defraying his private Cost at the Expence of public Liberty.

THESE,

THESE, my beloved Brothers, are Hints and Advices, which you may think good to apply, or improve upon future Occasions. But for the present we must attend, where we are more immediately called.

Then turning to the Wolf, he thus continued——

To you, my Lord, I first address myself, as to the Person of greatest Dignity, and who ought therefore to have a Right to the greatest Respect.

I OBSERVE, that your Lordship hath declared, with much Frankness, that we have nothing but the mere Form of Liberty left among us, and this, you say, ought to be preserved.

BUT, my Lord, can the Appearance of any Thing be better than its Reality? if the very Shadow of Liberty is valuable, how much more the Substance! and since you have made us sensible that it is a Good which we have lost, what shall hinder us from endeavouring to recover the Blessing?

BEFORE I speak to your Objections against others of our Candidates; I think it first my Duty to take Notice of your Lordship's superior Claim. The Honour, which you say we should confer upon ourselves, in the Election of your Lordship, I acknowledge is great; but the Advantage we should receive thereby, is not altogether so apparent: For though *Power*, as you well observe, is the strongest *Ally of Weakness*, I doubt it might prove the strongest *Enemy* also; and might still be rendered more capable of our *Damage* and *Destruction*, by being received into our *Trust*, and into our *Bosoms*.

THERE

THERE is no Doubt but that your Lordſhip, ſo powerfully ſupported by your noble Kindred and Alliances, would be well able to defend us from all other Aſſailants. But in caſe you ſhould at any Time ſeek Occaſion of Offence; who then would *defend* us againſt the Power of our *Guardians?* who could *preſerve* us from ſuch *Preſervers?*

IT is therefore, with much Regret, that I, who am really under private Obligations to my Superiors in the Foreſt, find myſelf thus ſingled out, in Behalf of the Flock, to give your Lordſhip the Mortification of a Refuſal. To acquaint you, that if your Threats mean any Thing further, than to terrify us into your Meaſures; we chooſe rather all to periſh in one Effort for virtuous Liberty, than to beget a Generation of Victims, and to breed up our Lambs merely for the Tuſk and the Talon.

To acquaint you, notwithſtanding, that we are very far from intending or tempting any Kind of Hoſtilities. But, whatever that Authority may be by which your Lordſhip is recommended; we ſhould juſtly be accounted the moſt daſtardly of all Sheep, ſhould we admit you for our Guardian while you are cloathed in our Spoils, while you inſult that very Flock, whom you addreſs for Favours, with the Proſpect of a Fleece upon your Shoulders.

To you next, Mr. *Reynard*, I think good to pay my Reſpects; and I do aſſure you in the Name of all my Fraternity, that we are thoroughly convinced of your great Talents and Underſtanding, and that there is no Perſon breathing whom we would prefer to your Worſhip, were we equally convinced of the Greatneſs of your Integrity; for Capacity is alike applicable

plicable to Evil as to Good, and how dangerous would ſuch an Experiment prove, where the Extent of your Genius might ſerve to widen our Deſtruction.

In your long Diſſertation on the Merits of this Maſtiff; I perceive that you allow the Facts, though you tremble for the Motives; you even aver that the Effects are good, though you aſſign evil Cauſes. Indeed, Sir, you have been at a vaſt Expence of Oratory and Sweat, in order to perſuade us that all Appearances are deceitful; that there is no Certainty of Dependence among the Things of Mortality; that the Nature of Dogs and Sheep will not admit of abſolute Perfection; and that for aught you ſee we are univerſally a Flock of Scoundrels.

But, good Sir, if even Benefits are to be diſtruſted, and that the beſt Services are ſuſpicious; what Judgement are we to form of the new Zeal of an old Enemy, and of the Friendſhip of a Fox?

If, as you alledge, the Love and Kindneſs, of this Maſtiff to our Fold, hath been overmuch; it is a very allowable Cauſe of Exception to our Enemies, but we who feel the Benefit can diſpenſe with the Abundance thereof.

It is impoſſible, you ſay, he ſhould have done ſo much Good to the Flock, without ſome evil and ſiniſter Intention. Here the Good is allowed, the Evil only conjectured; the Advantage is real, the Miſchief merely imaginary: But if Benefits effected are to be taken as Inſtances of Damages deſigned, why may not Evil executed be as equal a Proof of Good intended?

If you take our preſent Seat or Pillar from under us, what other Place will you aſſign for our Standing

or Repose? If the Deeds of Friendship are not to be trusted, and that a long Train of Services are no Proofs of Affection; we request you to inform us where we can better fix our Confidence.

You further assert, that, were there no other Objection to this Mastiff but his Poverty, that, alone, must subject him to irresistible Temptations: But, Sir, if he wants the Appetites of the Wealthy, he hath no need of their Abundance; and had he used the Means of some Neighbours for laying up of Riches, he would not now have been subject to this Reproach.

We admit, however, that this, our Friend, hath his Sufficiency of Failings; it had been too much to have bestowed on any one Creature, such a Treasure of Virtues, without their natural Allay of Frailty. But if *Wolves* and *Foxes* had no Room to find Fault with his *Barking* and his *Snarling*; I know that *Sheep* would have no Cause for praising those *Talents* in him. We do not however vindicate the Abundance of his Wrath, and are truly grieved if he hath at any Time offended the Innocent. But should we take upon us to controul those Qualities in him; how might our Fold be exposed, and our Lambs become a Prey.

But if our Mastiff grumbles he doth not fawn also; and with respect to his Merits for this Election, I am only concerned that he hath been prevailed upon to declare himself a Candidate; since thereby he hath deprived us of the Opportunity we wished, of distinguishing him by every Honour we could offer, not only from his Fellow Candidates, but from all other Creatures.

With regard to the Merits of our *honest Patron Reynard*, when he boasts of his Riches, there is no

Queſtion of his Veracity: All our Doubt is, in reſpect of the Means by which he came by them. His generous Offers of a Share thereof to the Individuals of this Flock, are, I own, very tempting. But ſhould we be ſuch Traytors, as to admit the Conſideration of private Intereſt, when the Welfare of the Public is alone in Debate; who ſhall aſſure us, that, on our making a Viſit to his Worſhip, inſtead of being *cloathed*, we may not return *ſhorn*; that, inſtead of bringing back the *Reward of our Treachery*, we may not happen to *leave a Fleece behind?*

It is a ſhrewd and ancient Proverb, that, *when the Family of Foxes grows rich and proſperous, the Sheep may juſtly reckon upon Loſs and Damage.*

Here ends the Fable—the Application follows.

The End of the FIFTH LETTER.

A

SIXTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A SIXTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

THE foregoing Fable, though now particularly addressed, to You, my much loved and respected Brothers, is equally applicable at all times, to any People, on a like Occasion.

I SEEK not, under Characters or Representations of any kind, to couch my Partiality to one Man, or Prejudice to another. So may I prosper in my private Concerns, as it is the general Welfare which I seek by these Addresses; as I seek to establish your Prosperity in *Truth* alone, in *Truth* as impartially advantageous to You, as it is in itself eternally unalterable.

In

It is not merely by the Powers of Oratory and warm Professions, but by a Conduct, ever conformable to the Principles of Virtue, that I wish any Man may gain either your Credit or Esteem. The highest Proof and Attestation that you can give of your own Worth, is to give your Voice and your Approbation to Worth alone; for we never grant our Regard or our Affection to Others, but on Account of what we regard and affect in Ourselves.

It is not, therefore, a sufficient Ground or Foundation for your Favour, that you hear a Man cry aloud, for *Liberty! Loyalty! Patriotism! Public Weal!* They are Terms that have been often used with great Latitude and incertain Tendency; in the Mouths of Many, they mean something very different from their just and natural Signification; and I shall come to demonstrate to You, my dear Countrymen, that no People was ever *Great*, but as they were *Good* alone; that no Nation can be *free*, but so far as they are *Virtuous*.

But, as *these great and beneficent Truths* would demand a large Compass to be duly unfolded, and that the approaching Election presseth You to a speedy Determination; I can, for the present, barely sketch what I intend for a regular Draught, I have not time to draw out the full Map of your Conduct, and must content myself with setting up a few Beacons and Land-marks, that may in some Measure serve to warn You from the neighbouring Quick-sands, and assist You in reaching that Port of Safety and Happiness, whereto it shall be the Study of my Life to steer You.

WHATEVER extravagant or unsettled Notions some People may form to themselves of *Liberty*; *whatever* Opinions some Others may entertain of

its Non-existence, or that it is at best but a Matter o Invention and Policy, equally used by State Craftsmen to hold a Party together, as by grasping Adventurers to excite Faction and Mob: I will shew You by a simple and quiet Demonstration, its plain Nature and Tendency, its Reality and Advantage.

Suppose, that in *Ireland* there were at this time no kind of political Establishment; but that we lived independently, though honestly, together; in the State that some Philosophers have called *the State of Nature*, or that the Poets have pictured for *the golden Age*.

In this Case, every Man of Us would be personally and separately possessed of all the Rights and Powers that were given to Us by Nature; our own *Reason* would be our *Law*, our own *Conscience* would be our *Governor*; and if Each had Virtue enough, to refrain from the Invasion of his Neighbours, Each in consequence would have Strength enough to retain his proper Privileges; Each would then permit to Others what he enjoyed to himself; and every Man, in the undisturbed Possession of his own Property, and in the rational and conscientious Direction of his own Conduct, would enjoy the Perfection of natural Liberty.

In such Circumstances, I may hope, there are but few who will assert, that *natural Liberty* would not be *real*, that it would not also be *beneficial*: He alone can dispute this, who shall avow that he prefers *Dispossession* to *Property*, *Injury*, to *Right*, and *Compulsion* to the inborn Dictates of *Reason* and of *Truth*.

It is proved, then, that *natural Liberty*, in a natural State, would be both real and valuable: Let us now proceed to try, whether *political Liberty*, in a *political State*, is not equally essential and equally advantageous.

SUPPOSE, that while we continued in this State of upright Nature, we ſhould be threatened with ſome foreign Invaſion; or that a Number of our Countrymen, degenerating from theſe the Principles of Reaſon and of Conſcience, had combined together, with a View to pillage and enſlave the reſt.

ON this Occaſion, every Individual muſt be conſcious, that he could not be able in this his ſeparate State, to withſtand the collected Force of Numbers. A Confederacy, therefore, on one Side to *aſſault*, would naturally produce a Confederacy on the other Side to *defend*; an Aſſociation on one Part, for the *Deſtruction* of Liberty, muſt neceſſarily impell to an Aſſociation on the other, for the *Support* thereof.

AND here, it is no way pertinent, for Us to inquire what thoſe Links might be, by which the Aſſociation againſt our Country would be bound, by which any League for evil Ends would be held together: For, though ſome kind of Government is requiſite to form even a Company of Banditti; yet a Connection for Purpoſes, in their Nature indiſpoſed, can never preſerve a firm or laſting Union.

OUR Buſineſs, therefore, is alone to diſcover the Nature and Tendency of that Aſſociation, which on this Occaſion ſhould be duly formed, for the Defence of natural Right, and the Preſervation of natural Liberty.

To diſcover this, it is requiſite in the firſt place to conſider, that, as no one Man could pretend a Privilege of dictating to the Reſt the Manner or Meaſure of this Aſſociation, a Conſultation would therefore be neceſſary; and in this Conſultation, every Man would be equally free, though not equally prudent, to give his Voice and Advice for the Good of the Whole.

But, as Experience muſt ſpeedily demonſtrate, that ſuch an Infinity of Counſellors could only create Confuſion; They would thereupon find it equally neceſſary and expedient, that, out of ſeveral aſcertained Numbers or Neighboorhoods of Men, each Number or Neighbourhood, by a Plurality of free Voices, ſhould elect him whom they judged to be the wiſeſt of that Number, to perſonate his Conſtituents in ſuch grand Conſultation, and repreſent the Wiſdom of Thoſe who choſe him.

Thus, as each Counſellor would be no other than the Aggregate or Sum total of his Electors, a Collection of their ſeveral Powers, an Utterer of their ſeveral Voices; the whole Council together would form one great Mirror, or rather Epitome, that would take in and contain every Individual throughout the Nation, with their ſeveral Intereſts and ſeveral Powers, thus contracted to avoid Confuſion, thus condenſed for the greater Force: As Water, weakly diffuſed and ſtagnating on a wide Extent of Land, grows ſtrong, clear, freſh, and active, when reduced and directed in a regular Channel.

Wherefore, as this great Council would repreſent or be collective of every Individual in the *Nation*; they could not poſſibly ſo repreſent or be collective of the ſame, for any Purpoſes, other than thoſe which were *National*; and ſhould they at any time abuſe or pervert thoſe Purpoſes, they would no longer repreſent the Nation who had choſe them; they would rather repreſent the Banditti or Invaders againſt whom they were elected; they themſelves would commence a State of War with their Country, and would thereby reſtore their Electors to their original *State of Nature*, and in that State, to the Capacity of a new *political Election*.

Now, in order to know what those *national Purposes* or *Laws* of the *Elected* should be; it will be sufficient to inquire what the *particular Purposes* or *Reasons* of the *Electors* were, in choosing such an associated or national Council.

The Question once asked, the Answer is self-evident. The Individuals were *attacked*, they wished to be *defended*; their natural Liberty was *invaded*, they desired it should be *secured*. These Benefits could not be attained in the *separate State of Nature*, they were therefore compelled to seek them in the *connected State of Society*. To form such a State, Wisdom and Consultation were necessary; but all could not sit and advise together. Each therefore separately chose who should associate as his Adviser, who should speak with his Voice, who should act for his Interests. The separate Bodies of the *Electors* were thus united in their *Elect*, the *Elect* were again united in one *embodied Council*. Thus from *Individuals* arose *Society*; from the *private* State the *Public*. The whole People formed Laws for themselves, the Nation sat consulting together. To what Purpose, can it be asked? —— to the Purpose for which they confederated; for the Defence of those natural Rights, for the Assurance of those natural Liberties, that could not be so well ascertained in the natural State.

Here, perhaps, it may be objected that there never was such a State of Nature.——I answer, that there may be many such even now upon Earth; that, if the Form of our Government were at any time dissolved, we should that Instant be restored to such a State of Nature, though possibly not altogether so innocent and upright; and that every Man living is, at this Hour, in such a State of natural *Freedom*, who is not subdued by Guilt from within,

within, or Tyranny from without; forasmuch as I shall shew, that the Members of a free Society, have not thereby *forfeited* any of their *natural Powers*, which they have only so far entrusted to *good Government*, as ought rather to *advance*, *enlarge*, and *assure* them.

GOD ALMIGHTY hath indued every Man with Strength, Reason, and Conscience; with *Strength* to *assert* his Property, with *Reason* to *direct* his Pursuits, and with *Conscience* to *controul* his Appetites. Man hath thereby an undoubted *Right* to *preserve* what is his own, while he is also *checked* in *attempting* on that which is another's; and therein consists his *natural Liberty*, which is no other than *natural Rectitude*.

BUT, as some have degenerated from this their natural Rectitude, when these passed the Barrie of Reason and of Conscience; others, who suffered by such Encroachment, found themselves under the Necessity, of providing new Limits, and of strengthening that Inclosure, by which every one should be barred from Intrusion on another. For, if such Licence was permitted to any, the same would be a Licence to All, and where All would encroach, All would likewise be encroached upon; and, thence, Property and Freedom would cease throughout the World.

WHEREFORE, in order to guard against the Invasion of Some, Others have been induced to associate together; and whatever the Forms of those Associations might be, however such Constitutions might differ in their Model, their End and their Purpose must ever have been the same; that is, to strengthen the Weakness of *separate Nature* by *political Connection*, to oppose *private Encroachments* by *public Fences*, and to assure *natural Rights* by political Appointments.

WHEREVER Society deviates from those the Purposes thereof, there Government becomes the *Evil* that it was intended to *remedy*; the Links by which such *Government* was *connected* are by such *Mis-government dissolved*, every Member is *discharged* from his *Allegiance* thereto, and it is not by the Authority of *Right*, but by the Authority of *Force* alone, that they can any longer be held to *Obedience*.

WHATEVER may be the Constitution of any national Society, whatever may be the Manner by which any Member hath been incorporated thereto, there are only two *Bonds* that can hold him to a *Conformity*, *Force* or *Right*, *Compulsion* or *Duty*. For, as GOD hath endowed Man with several natural Gifts and Privileges, his own Surrender of any of them, can alone be consistent with his Liberty; whoever attempts to deprive him is guilty of tyrannic Force, and, this, GOD, in giving him the Privileges, gives him a Right to resist.

IF, therefore, the Members of any national Society, have, either by Assent or Consent, as far as in them lies, surrendered their *natural* Powers to the *political Community*; such Surrender cannot be *absolute*, but *conditional*, not in *Gift*, but in *Trust*. Each Individual makes such a Community stronger by his Strength, richer by his Property, wiser by his Understanding, better by his Virtue: But wherefore?—Not surely to be himself deprived and destitute; not to be *weakened*, but *enforced*, not to be *impoverished* but *enriched*, not to be *controuled* by *Will* but *directed* by *Wisdom*, not to have his natural Liberty *abridged* or *annulled* but *extended* and *assured*; and in the Attainment of these great Ends to each Individual, consists the only Good of Government, the true Nature of *political Liberty* which is no other than *political Rectitude*.

HENCE,

HENCE, it is not only demonſtrable, but already evident, that, as Society is the gathering or Combination of ſeveral Men for the mutual Benefit and Support of each other; ſo *public Liberty* is no other, than the gathering of ſeveral *natural Liberties* together, whereby thoſe Liberties, without changing their Nature, or alienating their Rights, may be more firmly aſſured by being ſo united.

ON this Occaſion, it may be aſked, that, if natural Liberty is not changed or alienated by Society; what then is the Appearance under which it is continued? what are the Terms, by whoſe Signification it is yet retained?

I anſwer, that all the Powers and Privileges of natural Liberty may be perceived by an Eye of very common Diſcernment, in the Liberty that appears to be meerly political. The *private Reaſon* of every Man or free Member of Society is continued in the *Legiſlature* or *public Direction*; the *private Conſcience* of every Man in the *public Controul* or *Magiſtracy*; and the *private Strength* of every Man in the *executive Authority*: For, wherever theſe ſeveral Powers or Privileges may be depoſited, if they are freely depoſited there by the Conſent of the Individuals, they cannot poſſibly be ſo depoſited but with the Proſpect of Uſury, or at leaſt of grateful and equal Returns; of *private Reaſon* ſublimed into *publick Law*, of *private Conſcience* operating in *public Controul*, and of *private Strength* collected under *public Appointments*.

FROM all theſe concurring Reaſons, and apparent Proofs, we infer, that *Freedom* in the *natural State* is a Latitude of acting within the Limits that *Conſcience* ſhall preſcribe agreeable to *Reaſon*; and, that *Freedom* in the *ſocial State* is a Latitude of acting within the Limits that *Magiſtracy* ſhall preſcribe agreeable to *Law*——Provided, however, that ſuch *Law*

be no Compoſition without Materials, and a Conſtitution or Body of *public Freemen*, can never conſiſt of *private Slaves*.

THE Conſideration of this laſt and moſt dangerous Foe to Liberty, that inborn Vulture Vice, which preys on the Inteſtines, and drinks up the Vitals thereof, naturally leads me to the Application of the Fable in my laſt Letter.

I HAVE before obſerved to you, that the Conſtitution of this Kingdom is free, in a Manner, and by Appointments, highly ſuperior to any that *Rome* or *Greece* could ever boaſt. That we ourſelves ſit in the *Senate* or *Parliament* of this Nation by our Election of ſuch Perſons as we requeſt to repreſent us there. That we chooſe to think with their Heads, to ſpeak with their Voices, and therefore in them dictate and inſtitute thoſe Laws, whereby we ourſelves deſire to be governed.

THE Powers that this whole Kingdom diffuſively contains are thus ſummed and collected in this auguſt Aſſembly of our Repreſentatives: They make Laws and they repeal, they looſe and they bind. They are a *Leviathan* whoſe Motion affects the furtheſt Shores of Poſterity; and we and our Children muſt be *wretched* and *oppreſſed*, or *free* and *happy*, in Proportion as we chooſe thoſe who are *weak* and *corrupt*, or *wiſe* and *honeſt*.

NO Property therefore can be of equal Importance, no Truſt of equal Sanction and Extent with that of the Voter; it is the *Hinge* on which all your Advantages turn, the very *Hand* by which you hold whatever You poſſeſs; and I introduced the foregoing Fable, in order to warn You on the enſuing Election, againſt the *Conſtraint* of *Power* and *Allurement* of *Policy*; that by knowing the *By-Paths* which would

would lead you to *Error*, you may be under no Doubt of the *Way you ought to walk in.*

ALL that can influence You to a wrong Election, is *Power* that may *over-rule* You, or *Policy*, that may *over-reach* You. It is the Province of the *One* to *terrify*, of the *Other* to *ſeduce*. The One would ſet Authority in Array againſt You, that You might fear, or think it vain to attempt an Oppoſition: The Other would lay hold on your own Appetites and Vices, in order to induce You to betray your own Intereſts.

THE *Wolf* in the Fable, perſonates this *Power*; and the *Fox* in the Fable perſonates this *Policy*. They Both malign the *Maſtiff* who perſonates *Fidelity*; for they judge with due Forecaſt, that, if by any means they might inſpire You with a Suſpicion of your Friends, if they might but once detach you from Thoſe who *defend*, your Fold muſt lye open to their own *Invaſion*.

BUT, as *Facts* form the only Rule by which we can judge of *Profeſſions*; If from frequent Experience and a grateful Recollection, You can diſcover, in the Conduct of ſome of your Candidates, the Labours, the Sufferings, the Watchfulneſs, and Attachment, of this long tried and faithful Maſtiff, I know no better Aſſurance of *future Services* than the Earneſt of *Benefits already received.*

THE Demonſtration of the infinite Importance of your LIBERTY, and of that Duty which is incumbent on every Man of you to retain it, ſhall form the Subject of my enſuing Letter.

F I N I S.

A

SEVENTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A SEVENTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My Friends and Brothers,

AS I most heartily wish you to be a happy People, it is the present Bent of my Labours, as it shall be of my future Studies, to contribute all I can to that desirable End.

WERE it my Opinion that your Happineſs conſiſted in the Abundance of the Things You poſſeſs, that your Enjoyments would increaſe in proportion to your Acquiſitions, and that *Riches* were any ſolid Foundation for Content; I would firſt have opened the Mines of *Agriculture*, and have endeavoured to widen the Chanels of your *Trade*.

BUT as I am firmly perſuaded of the Reverſe of all this. As I apprehend that the Poſſeſſions of many among us have already debauched and made miſerable their Proprietors. That ſuch Examples have ſpread their Contagion abroad. That *Affluence* propagates *Luxury*, Luxury *Immorality*, and Immorality the Seeds of *Slavery* throughout my Country. I would ſooner ſteer you *eaſtward*, while your Port lay *Weſt*, than lead you to the Danger and Temptation of Riches; till you are firſt duly informed, and wiſely determined on ſuch a Uſe and Application thereof, as can alone derive any Benefit or Advantage to the Poſſeſſor.

WEALTH, my dear Friends, is as a Cup of Liquor whoſe Quality would conform to the Conſtitution of him who drinks it; It carries Health, Strength, and Nouriſhment to the Lips of Temperance and Virtue; but utter Poiſon to an Appetite that is thirſty and inflamed. The good Things of Life are good to Thoſe who are good alone; the Evil convert them into their own Nature and Quality. Nothing can be *valuable* but ſo far as it is *uſeful*; the *Abuſe* therefore of *Riches* muſt make their Owners *poor* indeed.

In Justice and in Truth, I might proceed much further. I might shew you, that, however Wealth, and Power, and Consideration, may serve to illustrate the *Virtue* of their Proprietor; they were never yet the Fountain or the Occasion *thereof*. That, since the World begun, the *Soul* of Man, which is *Himself*, hath neither been made *temperate* by *Affluence*, *kind* by *Authority*, nor *humble* by *Honours*. That such Acquisitions in their Nature rather tend, to *deduct*, than to *add* real Value to their Owner. That they are a Weight which cannot be *supported* but by an equal *Strength* of Mind; and that, though the *Structure* of *Wealth*, and *Power*, and *Consideration*, may contain many Elegancies and Conveniences in the Apartments, unless they are deeply and strongly pillar'd on *Virtue*, they must entomb under their Ruins all Those who dwell within.

If *Wealth* therefore is not the *One Thing needful*, whatever the Practice and Pursuits of Mankind may assert. If universal History, Experience, and Observation, prove that Riches have a Tendency, to corrupt, enslave and ruin whole Nations as well as Men. If those Commonwealths, who are allowed to have been the happiest, the greatest, and the most distinguished upon Earth, were yet established upon the *Principles* of *Poverty* and *Temperance*. If they *subsisted* no longer than while they adhered to those *Principles*; and that *Riches* introduced a *Dissolution of Manners*, and a Dissolution of their Manners a Dissolution of the State. There is something further requisite, beyond a *wealthy Dependence* (whatever your *Time-serving Preachers* may insinuate) to build up a Prosperity that can possibly endure; to make

you a People worthy, or even ſuſceptible of *Happineſs.*

I LOOK for no temporal Preferment by theſe my Labours; it is enough that your Intereſt calls upon me; for that I quit Concerns that are more perſonal, though leſs dear; and neither Fears, nor Hopes, nor Proſpects, nor Prohibitions, ſhall ever ſhut my Mouth on a Word that may be uttered to your Advantage: Much leſs ſhall any Influence be able to prevail with me, to publiſh a ſingle Expreſſion pernicious to my Country, a Sentiment that will not equally and in all Places ſtand the light-armed and deſpiſed Aſſaults of Raillery, as well as the Teſt of Reaſon and Inquiſition of Time.

IN my private Concerns, Indiſcretion, Extravagance, Raſhneſs, Folly are often imputed to me: Diſhoneſty, Inſincerity, Malevolence.———Never. In my public Concerns, I have, in Turns, provoked and pleaſed all Parties; becauſe all Parties, in their Turns, are for and againſt Truth. But, who can ſtand up, and ſay? That I have at any time deviated from what I was at the Beginning; or that any Two of my Sentiments or Aſſertions have ever claſhed? No Favour, no Intereſt hath tempted me to the Right or to the Left. I have but one Road to travel, and that leads but to one View; to the Good, to the Happineſs of my beloved Country! and O, that I could expand that View——— to the Happineſs of Mankind!

I SPEAK not this in the Spirit of Vanity, or to catch the paſſing Breath of a popular Acclamation. I know how weak the human Heart is to the Approaches of Honours; and therefore pray to de-

ſerve

ſerve, but never to acquire them. But I ſpeak this as a Challenge directed to all my *Enemies*, to thoſe *Maſters* of the *ſcurrilous Science of Offence*, who yet are *Strangers to Argument*, and *Aliens to Truth*. I ſpeak it for your own Sakes, that I may have Credit among you; that in a Matter of the laſt Conſequence to yourſelves and to your Poſterity, You may know that I cannot have any Proſpect in betraying you, not the ſmalleſt or moſt diſtant Intention to deceive.

PARDON therefore a few Sentences that were otherwiſe impertinent; that, in order to introduce a Concern of the utmoſt Importance, I have detain'd you on a Subject ſo inconſiderable, as myſelf.

THIS Concern, of the laſt Conſequence, of the utmoſt Importance to You, is no leſs than the WHOLE of what you are or can be worth. It is your HAPPINESS, my Brethren, however it may be conſidered, as *natural*, *civil*, *political*, *temporal*, or *eternal*. However various, and even oppoſite, the *Objects* of our *Purſuits* may be; HAPPINESS is the only *Game* intended by the *Chaſe*. It is not therefore the chief, it is the ſingle Conſideration that ought to claim your Attention; and I lay it down as a Poſition, for I ſhall prove it inconteſtably, that both *here* and *hereafter*, in *Heaven* and on *Earth*, LIBERTY is to HAPPINESS as the *Bones* are to the *Body*, the only *Support* on which the Whole is *built*; or as *Life* is to Thought, Action, and all the other Faculties, the *Source* from whence they ariſe, and without which they cannot ſubſiſt.

To

To let you know what LIBERTY is, and wherein it consists; lest when some *cry it is here*, You should be influenced to listen, or when others *cry it is yonder*, You should be tempted to attend; was the Purpose, as I hope it will be the Effect, of my last Letter. But as the Proofs, then necessary to obviate future Cavils and Assaults, led me into a Train of Argument not perceivable at one View; I will here give you a short Sum of the several Inferences; a plain System of the Truths independent of their Demonstrations.

PERFECT LIBERTY *is the Privilege of a voluntary Conduct directed by Wisdom and limited by Duty.*

IN *Nature* it is the Co-operation of *Will*, right *Reason*, and good Conscience—in *Policy*, of *Consent*, prudent *Law*, and just *Magistracy*; and in Proportion as Any or All of These are deficient, in such Proportion is Liberty depraved, or wholly lost.

IF *one Man* is subdued to the Appointments of another, though such Appointments should never deviate from *right Reason* or *good Conscience*, the *Will* is yet wanting to *natural Freedom*——If a *Constitution* of Men should be governed by *wise Laws* and *just Magistrates*; if those Laws should yet be formed, and those Magistrates preferred, without the Concurrence or Agreement of the Populace; *Consent* is then wanting to *social Liberty*.

THE

THE next Step to *natural Slavery*, is, where a *Man* is subdued against his Will, to the *unreasonable* and *unjust Appointments* of Another—— The next Step to *Political Slavery*, where a *Constitution* is subjected without Consent *to weak or partial Laws*, and *iniquitous Magistrates*.

BUT the last Degree of Slavery, is, where the *Will* itself co-operates, with the Appointments of *Folly*, and Suggestions of *Guilt*. For where private Reason and Conscience are stifled by Lusts, the very Will is seduced to the Empire of Appetite, and the whole Man becomes the Subject and Servant of Sin——Where the Populace are influenced to a voluntary Election of weak Legislators or vitiated Magistrates; *Consent*, which is *the Salt of Liberty*, is then itself *corrupted*, and no Salt may be found wherewith it can be seasoned; The People are Parties and Abettors to their own Thraldom, and no Powers upon Earth can, nor will Heaven interfere, to redeem them from so merited, so sure a Perdition.

REASON, Conscience, and Strength, were appointed unto Man, that by *Reason* he might *distinguish Right*, by *Conscience* be *controuled from Wrong*, and by *Strength assert* his Privileges, and *repel* or *punish* the Encroacher——Law, Magistracy, and Power, were appointed to Society, that *Law* might *declare Right*, *Magistracy guard from Wrong*, and *Power assert* the Limits, or *repel* and *punish* the Invaders.

The End of the Creation of Man is answered by *good or virtuous Conduct*: *The End of the Creation of Society* is answered by *good or virtuous Government*.

THE Force of a *stronger Arm* may *oppose* the *good Conduct* of Man——The Invasion of greater Powers

may *oppose* the *good Government* of a People.——— But *Force* in either Case infers *no Guilt*; and the Will is still left Free, *to attempt once more for Liberty*.

THE *Will* of Man can be constrained by no outward Impulse, He must first be *guilty* before he can be *perverted*——The *Consent* of a People can be compelled by no outward Power. They must first be *corrupted* before they can be *influenced*.

Temptation in the *natural World* is *Influence* in the *Political World*. The *Surrender of free Will* is what constitutes a *sinful Man*——The *Surrender of free Consent* is what demonstrates a *wicked People*. No *Man* therefore can be *good* but so far as he is *free*. No *People* can be *free* but so far as they are *virtuous*.

BUT, my Friends, this Principle of LIBERTY is not merely HUMAN, It is also DIVINE. In the *natural*, in the *Political*, in the *Moral* World, it is by LIBERTY that we *retain*, *apply*, or *enjoy* any *Possession*.

IT is therefore, alone, that we are accountable Creatures. It is for LIBERTY only that we can be brought to our Audit, before Man or before GOD, either here or hereafter.

WHATEVER is propertied, whatever is possessed, whatever Industry can earn, or Opulence purchase, is granted, fenced, guarded, and affirmed by LIBERTY.

WHATEVER is just, whatever is decent, whatever is humane, whatever is charitable, whatever is great, whatever is good, whatever is sacred; to the Breach of which eternal Punishments are threatened,

to

to the Performance of which eternal Happineſs is ordained, take their Riſe, Temper, Quality and Merit from LIBERTY.

As the SOUL of Man was created in the IMAGE of GOD; it is from LIBERTY that this DIVINE SIMILITUDE is denominated, where *Man's Freedom* of Acting according to the Dictates of his own *finite Reaſon*, anſwers to GOD's FREEDOM of acting according to the Dictates of his own INFINITE WISDOM.

Now as All receive their Exiſtence and Appointments from GOD, He cannot poſſibly be ſuſceptible of Influence from Any, and therefore, is neceſſarily, infinitely, and eternally free. That is to ſay, He cannot in any one Inſtance, of his unbounded Operations, do otherwiſe, than act as Infinite Wiſdom ſhall dictate, and infinite Goodneſs direct. Throughout his Immenſity, he can ſurrender no one Article of his Attributes or Powers. He cannot be Fooliſh, He cannot be Evil, He cannot be Impotent. And this alone is PERFECT UNASSAILABLE FREEDOM.

HE, then, who would preſerve the DIVINITY of that IMAGE in which he is created; who would be truly GODLIKE, who would be GOOD, who would be HAPPY, muſt endeavour to be *Steady*, *Impregnable*, *Unaſſailable*. He muſt combat and conquer the Friends of *Influence* who are within him, that they may not be able to correſpond abroad, and betray him to this his *mighty Beſieger*. His *imperial Soul* muſt preſerve that Throne of Reaſon, to which it was, from Eternity, ordained by the ALMIGHTY; to keep under due Subjection and Miniſtration, those Senſes, thoſe Affections, thoſe Appetites, that were appointed his natural Servants——not his Lords.

SHOULD these, the *Earth-born Giants* of *Sensuality* and *Appetite*, be able to scale that CELESTIAL SEAT OF FREEDOM wherein the DIVINITY of Man is scepter'd; what Asylum, what Resource? what Corner may be found, throughout the Universe, wherein the *degraded Monarch* may hide his shameful Head?

AND yet it is from these, his natural Vassals alone, the Domestics and Ministers of his own Household, that the World can produce any thing that is formidable to Man. From their Rebellion alone comes *human Guilt* and *human Misery*: On their Subjection alone is built *human Virtue* and *human Happiness*. While they are retained within the Sphere of their appointed Obedience, though their LORD should see the World in Chains, or in Flames around him, He would stand *free*, amidst Dungeons, Tyrants, and Slaves; and *safe*, amidst Terrors, Tortures, and Death.

THESE, my dear Brothers, are no sudden Flights, no Doctrines that ought to be new or strange unto Men. They are no other than the Unfoldings of those Truths that are within You, the Transcripts of the original Tables that are written in your own Bosoms.

THE DIVINE REVEALER of the Means of Salvation unto Man, who hath brought IMMORTALITY and FREEDOM to Light by his Gospel, assures you that the KINGDOM OF GOD, which is LIBERTY, is neither relative to any Time, nor assigned to any Place, that it is opened and established in the Soul alone, that it is the LAW OF REASON AND CONSCIENCE written by GOD upon your Hearts, and that this LAW alone is PERFECT FREEDOM.

EVEN

EVEN in old Times, the most illuminated of the Poets and Philosophers have had several Glimmerings of this the full Day of LIBERTY, which by the SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS is now shed upon Mankind.

HEAR the Sentiments of an ancient *Roman* upon this Head.

THE Man, resolv'd, and steady to his Trust,
Inflexible to Ill, and obstinately Just,
May the rude Rabble's Insolence despise,
Their senseless Clamours, and tumultuous Cries;
The Tyrant's Fierceness he beguiles,
And the stern Brow and the harsh Voice defies,
And with superior Greatness——smiles!

NOT the rude Whirlwind, that deforms
Adria's black Gulph, and vexes it with Storms,
Can the firm Purpose of his Soul remove,
Not the red Arm of angry *Jove*,
That flings the Thunder from the Sky,
And gives it Rage to roar, and Strength to fly.

SHOULD the whole Frame of Nature round him break,
In Ruin and Confusion, hurl'd,
He, unconcern'd, would hear the mighty Crack,
FREE, and secure, amid a tumbling World.

HUMAN Freedom and human Existence are so intimately joined, that Existence becomes Misery, is worse than Loss and Annihilation, when Freedom is only Solace and Support is departed. *For what should it profit a Man were he to gain the whole World, if he loses that, by which any thing can be retained or enjoyed, if he loses his* LIBERTY, *his* SOUL, *his* SELF.

the Citadel is endangered, and will require an internal Strength and Watchfulness that is extraordinary, to defend itself from the close Attacks of perpetual Assailants.

Who would chuse to have himself or his Brethren so tempted or exposed?

If one Man should be strong enough to strip another of his Property, and, thereafter, to put his Body into actual Bondage; he wants but a Step further to the enslaving of his very Soul, to make it gradually bend, become obsequious and subservient, and at length even conformable, to the Dictates of Lust, and the Appointments of Villainy.

When the Devil desired to tempt the Freeman of the East, even Job the favourite Image of his blessed Creator; he first attached his Property, and next attached his Person, that by coming so near as to his Flesh and to his Bone, he might reach at the Treasure of eternal Estimation, the Divinity that held the Throne within. But here he happened for once to be mistaken in his Man, *Job* held fast his Liberty, he would not let it go, and the World and the Devil assailed him in vain.

F I N I S.

AN

EIGHTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

and *Goodness*; the Will of Man, who is his Image, can no further be free, than as it is directed by right Reason, and limited by good Conscience.

I HAVE further demonstrated to you, that this the LIBERTY of Man, is the only Source and Subsistence of all possible Virtue. That it is the sacred and celestial Trust for which alone we are accountable; and that temporally and eternally we must be wicked or *worthy*, miserable or *happy*, in proportion as we are *Free*.

I HAVE further demonstrated, that in this our State of Mortality, there are *two other Articles*, that of *Body* and that of *Property*, which being annexed to our *Existence* are also annexed to our LIBERTY; and though in Rank and Estimation they are infinitely inferior to that LIBERTY which is the LIFE, and as it were the DEITY of the Soul; that yet they constitute the Whole of what is valuable upon Earth, and that their Loss endangers the LIBERTY of the Soul itself, the only SEAT where Repose may be found throughout Eternity.

I HAVE further demonstrated, that, in our present State, Man is a Being compounded of Soul and Body, to whose joint Support and Welfare, Property is necessary. That, as he hath Reason to direct him in the Attainment of such Property, and Conscience to dissuade him from encroaching on the Property of Another, he also hath *Strength* appointed to his *Right* of holding that which is his own, and of repelling and punishing whoever is the Assailant.

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I HAVE further demonstrated, that there are many Senses and Appetites annexed to the Bodily Composition of Man. That those Senses and Appetites are appointed to be the Ministers of his Soul; and in a State of natural Freedom must be subservient to Reason: But that in many Cases the Appetites have transgressed their Province, and by corrupting and enslaving the Soul to unreasonable Desires, have tempted some to encroach upon the Property of others.

I HAVE thereupon demonstrated, that the Attacks which some have made upon Liberty and Property, impelled others to confederate for the Preservation thereof; that this alone can be the Intention and End of all Society; and that, however the Form of this Connection may vary, no Community can be supposed to have united together, with a Prospect of Destruction, or even of Damage to the Individuals.

I HAVE therefore demonstrated, that, as all *social Liberty* is the Result of many Men united together for the Preservation of *natural Liberty* to *Each*; wherever those Divine Ends are prostituted or perverted, by unreasonable Laws or a wicked Administration; then, and not till then, the Links of that Society are *ipso facto* dissolved, and the People restored to their Right, though they may want the Power, of renewing their Constitution, or re-electing their Magistrates.

AND

And now, my beſt beloved Countrymen, in order to illuſtrate the Benefits of Liberty, in order to recommend and inforce upon your Minds, the *Foundation* of all Advantages this *Source* of all Delight, this *Portion* of the Divinity that is ſhed upon Man, I will give you on one Side the Picture of a *Freeman*, I will give you on the other Side the Picture of a *Slave*.——Chooſe the Subſtance of that Character whoſe Reſemblance you like beſt.

That Man who is ſo happy as to be born and educated, where his natural Liberty is aſſured to him by the Conſtitution of his Country, imbibes the Bleſſings thereof from his earlieſt Infancy; his little Heart is enlivened by the chearfull Faces around him; and the firſt Ideas he conceives, are from the Actions of Freedom, and Expreſſions of Truth. As his Capacity begins to open, he receives no Impreſſions of Religion that are not illumined by Revelation, nor of Law that are not made ſacred by Reaſon; he perceives the juſtneſs of ſuch Sentiments by the Dawnings of his native Underſtanding, each Truth is duly reflected by the unprejudiced Mirror of his own Mind, and the Characters of Virtue, impreſſed by God upon his Heart, are retraced by Converſation, and rendered indelible by public Approbation and Authority.

Hence he is confident, he is open, he is chearful, he is generous, he is ſerene; he is not awed into a Hypocrite, he is not terrified into a Liar; his Actions are neither diſtracted by Doubts, nor abridged

by Caution; he hath but one Way to walk, even the High Road of Honour; his temporal Succeſs and Happineſs go Hand in Hand with his Virtue; and that Virtue is dictated, is encouraged, is approved, is rewarded, by the Laws of his Country, by the Example of his Acquaintance, by the Deference of the People, and by the Magiſtrates of the Land.

As he encreaſes in Underſtanding to diſtinguiſh, in Ability to earn, and in Strength to defend his Property; he finds both the Rights of his Perſon, and the Appointments of that Property, already ſet forth by Law, and protected by Power; the Ordinances of his Country, the Inſtitutions of LIBERTY, like ſo many Guardian Angels hedge him round about; and all that is requiſite on his Part, is to conform to that Law, and to add his Arm to that Power, by which he is himſelf defended and ſecured.

The Conſciouſneſs of this Security, and the Aſſurance of this Protection, give him Encouragement for Induſtry, and Spirits to Application; he is thereby ſtrengthened in his Labours, and enlarged in his Underſtanding; he ſows his Land in Confidence, and he brings home his Harveſt with Songs and with Merriment; he rejoyces to tear up the Boſom of the Field which is his own; he cultivates and manures it for many Generations, inaſmuch as LIBERTY has appointed that the Deſcendants of his Loins ſhall reap the Product thereof.

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THUS his Induſtry advances his Property into Abundance; he hath wherewithal to confer on the Sick and the Needy; and can ſpare a Portion to that loved Public by whom the Whole is aſſured. He hath no Damage to apprehend, no Danger to foreſee; his Thoughts are clear and undiſturbed; he hath Leiſure and Attention, to ſtudy the Improvement of Manufactures, and Refinement of Arts. He ſmiles at the Efforts of Malice or Knavery, and ſtands firm and undaunted before the Frowns of the Great; for he builds his Houſe on the *Rock of Law*, and it is covered by a *juſt and impartial Adminiſtration*.

This Freedom gives him Dignity, and the Dignity gives him Ambition; he exerts every Faculty, every Talent which Nature hath given him, to its utmoſt Extent; and is emulous of leaving ſome Memorial of his Attachment to that endearing Society, of which he himſelf is ſo cherished a Member. Such is the true Son of EVER GLORIOUS LIBERTY; it guards him all about; it warms him at Heart, he feels its Beneficence, he rejoices in its Comforts; he can labour, he can watch, he can bleed to retain it,—he can die for its Sake,—but he cannot ſurvive it, On the other Hand.

THAT Wretch who is born in a *Society of Slaves*, where *public Reaſon is dethroned*, *Law appointed by Will*, and *Power actuated by Paſſion*, receives Fetters on his firſt infant Efforts for Freedom, that eat and corrode to the very Quick of all Virtue. To what end is his Inſtruction, to what purpoſe his Knowledge, except it were to ſharpen the Senſe of his Miſery, and to

open his Eyes to the Horrors of his Condition? But his Tutors, alas, are of a different Caſt, the Truth of their own Minds is already damped or extinguiſhed; and this Son of Bondage can receive no poſſible Impreſſion, but from the Tongue of Ignorance, or Example of Guilt.

Hence the Characters of Virtue, which God hath traced upon his Soul, are contradicted by Converſe, controuled by Authority, and eraſed by Precedent. He ſees Falſhood, Servility, and Cruelty around him, and his Heart contracts and hardens by Habit and Conformity. He perceives that Power conſiſts in Rapine, in Violence, and Inſults, and he learns by Example to ſuffer and ſubmit, while his ſole Ambition is to rule with the Rod by which he is governed.

He looketh abroad, he obſerves that Neighbourhood is Danger, and Fellowſhip a Snare; he reflects that there is no Confidence between Man and Man, and that Each endeavours to ſubſiſt by preying on the Other. His Nature is ſhock'd, but he knows no Remedy, he firſt conforms, and then approves. Like his wretched Aſſociates he learns to flatter and betray, and to wear a Countenance that is ever at Variance with his Soul. His Blood is baked in Choler, engendring Treaſons and Tragedies, Deſigns of Darkneſs and Deeds of Deſperation.

and the Enſlavers; till the Tyrants who corrupted, and the baſe Wretches who were influenced, grow like *Pygmalion* and his *Subjects*, *Thoſe* trembling at the Daggers and Darkneſs of each Night, *Theſe* wakeful in Expectation of the Morning's Slaughter.

If you like not ſuch a Situation, if you have a Horrour of ſuch a State, be faithful, be fervent, to preſerve to yourſelves, to convey to your Poſterity, thoſe ineſtimable Rights and Privileges, thoſe Liberties you retain.

Never arrogate to yourſelves the Adminiſtration of Power, for Liberty never lodged Power in the Hands of the People, Theirs indeed is the Appointment and Diſpoſition thereof, but where-ever they reclaimed it, their Perdition enſued.

But, on the other Hand, as Power is naturally encroaching and aſſuming, as it grows bulky by Nouriſhment, and ſtrengthens by Age, till it forgets the kind Parents by whom it was begotten and nurtured, and turns Alien to the Purpoſes for which it was ordained; you ſhould be extremely cautious and inquiſitive into the Virtues of that Man, in whoſe Hands you depoſite ſo fearful a Truſt; that he may gratefully acknowledge, and invariably apply his Power, to the ſole End for which it was ever poſſeſſed, either by God in Heaven, or *Legiſlators* upon Earth; to

the

the Good of HIS Creatures, to the Advantage of *their* Conſtituents. But, above all, beware of committing the Sword of Authority, into the known Adminiſtration, and experienced Graſp, of any Plunderer of your leaſt Property, or Poſſeſſor of your ſmalleſt Right.

THE Election of two Legiſlators is now at Hand, ſtand firm to your Liberties! acquit yourſelves like Men! I ſay it and will ever ſay it, that to appoint your Repreſentatives is your Privilege alone; that to elect their own Legiſlators belongs ſolely to the People; that this EVER GLORIOUS AND INDEFEASIBLE RIGHT, is the Life, the very Heart, and vital Heat of LIBERTY; that it is the ESSENCE of our free and ineſtimable Conſtitution; and that no Power, no Domination, no Authority upon Earth, hath the ſmalleſt Right, or Colour of Right to influence or interfere.

LET the Great enjoy their Riches, and the Titled their Honours; we are contented with our Poverty, and envy them not. Let Magiſtrates exert their Authority, we will pay them all Obedience; but let this be ſufficient for them, let them be ſatisfied with their own Limits, let us ſay, *thus far ſhall ye paſs and no further*; Let them not invade our Souls, nor caſt Chains over the Efforts of a free-born Spirit. Preſerve your Truth, my dear Friends, preſerve your Truth from every Fetter; and if there is any among you, ſo poor, that his Integrity is his only Property, let him grow rich, and ſtrong, and honoured in the Retention.

Or what Consequence, of what Import is the Freedom of Elections, if Electors are influenced, if they are not free to choose? To what Purpose is this Constitution of incomparable LIBERTY, if the Individuals make no Use or Advantage thereof? is not the Ruin of my House, equal, whether it tumbles by a Tempest, or I pull it on my own Head? is not the Ruin rather aggravated, where I have nothing to reproach, but my own Folly or Wickedness for my own Perdition?

YOU have now, my honoured Brethren, but a short time to consider, that a *free Election* is the very *Spring*, and great *Principle* of our Constitution; that it is gloriously so, since all Authority subsists in the People alone, in whom alone it is resolvable, from whom alone it is derived. That, therefore, should you barter this *Pearl* of mighty Price, you choak the Course of LIBERTY even at the Fountain-Head; and every prostitute Voter puts to his Shoulder and his Hand, to sap the Foundation, to tear away the corner Stones, whereon the Freedom and Prosperity of this whole Nation is built.

SHALL any influenced, venal, and abject Elector, have the Impudence to repine at Laws, or murmur at Magistrates, whose Weakness, or Perversion he endeavoured to promote?

MAY you, my beloved and respected Countrymen, be shining Examples of a contrary Conduct, to all free States, to all future Electors! may the Wisdom and Impartiality, of your generous Voices,

be duly honoured in the Capacity, the Intrepidity, the Integrity, of thoſe diſtinguiſhed Candidates, on whom your Election ſhall light! May each of you ever, and invariably vote, as you would wiſh the Repreſentatives of ſuch glorious Conſtituents, to vote in the great and auguſt Council of this Nation! without Fear, without Prejudice, without Intereſt, without Animoſity, as Public Good alone ſhall prompt, and Truth ſhall dictate!——May you worthily ſerve yourſelves, and my Labours thereby will be amply rewarded.

F I N I S.

A

NINTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

[Price Two-pence.]

A NINTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

MY BROTHERS,

IF there is nothing truly ſolid and comfortable in Virtue, if it will not yield you a Reſource in Poverty or Perſecution, when you are forſaken by Patronage or aſſailed by Power; I have long laboured, and written, and preached to You in vain.

If Virtue were the Fashion and Cast of the Times; if Men in the general were Lovers of Truth; it would be impossible that Candor should create Enemies, or Sincerity give Offence; and an upright humane benevolent Spirit, would walk beloved and applauded, through a World amicably formed to its own Likeness.

But as this neither is nor ever was the Case; as Wickedness can *climb* as well as *creep*; as it infests *the Valleys*, and also visits *high Places*; whoever opens his Mouth in Favour of Virtue, is presumed to declare his Aversion to Vice; whoever declares his Aversion to Vice, is presumed to express his Antipathy to the Wicked; and whoever expresses his Antipathy to the Wicked, is impleaded as a Defamer of Some or Other in high Station.

Neither are these the only Disadvantages under which the Man of unassailable Integrity must labour. He can gain no Riches by Over-reaching, nor Friends by Fawning. He cannot warp himself to Occasions; he cannot bend his upright Soul to humour his Patrons by a base Compliance, or to serve his Protectors by Iniquity; he cannot make unto himself *Mammon*, by any Manner of *Unrighteousness*. If Preferment should happen to lie in so very direct a Road, he accepts it with Gratitude, and he dischargeth his Trust with Faith and unwearied Application; but he quits all Preferment rather than shut his Mouth upon the Truth; he is prepared to resign his Post, if he cannot hold it with Honour.

Yet all this he does for the Love of Truth alone; for he expects not to find Protection when Persecution is begun, nor Hopes for any Asylum when once obnoxious

obnoxious and forsaken. He has experienced the Shallowness of common Friendship and Profession, and looks to be envied and even hated when he dares to be singular.

This, my Friends, is the very Extremity of all Evils that can happen to the Virtuous. Even so, he can fall no lower than the Rock of his own Integrity; and God can call Friends to him from the Wildernesses and the Desarts, and *command that these Stones may be made Bread for his Servants.* His deepest Distress is therefore not to be pitied; and the utmost Defeat, that Misfortunes can bring upon him, is a Triumph, in Comparison of the Exaltation of Guilt.

But how deplorable is the Situation of that self-abandoned Wretch, who, being tempted to deviate from Duty and Conscience, by the Allurement of Profit or prospect of Advancement; yet finds himself disappointed of the Benefits proposed, and in grasping at the Shadow of a transient Prosperity, catches substantial Misery and lasting Reproach? If he looks around him for Friendship, he meets Detestation and Scorn; if he looks to Heaven for Pity, he sees Disgust and Condemnation; and if he looks within himself, he is still more forlorn, and the Universe can afford him neither Comfort nor Support.——Though he should even be successful for a Time, yet this is the final and unavoidable Gulph, to which the Triumphs and Prosperity of the Guilty must arrive.

And

And now, my dear and worthy Friends, what Man is there among you who would choose such a Tomb of inward Defilement, though outwardly adorned with all the Escutcheons of Title and Gildings of Wealth? Who would not rather choose the utmost Burden of Calamity, while inwardly supported, cheared, and enlightened by Virtue?

Wherefore, to apply this short but very important Preachment; I entreat, I exhort you to take this Reflection to your Souls, that of all the Vices incident to the Depravity of Man, that of *Treachery*, or *the Deceiving a Trust*, is the basest, the vilest, the most criminal, and abhorred; and that, of all base, vile, criminal, and abhorred Treacheries, that of *deceiving the Trust of your Country* is the greatest.

I must further remark to you, that the Duty of every Trust still encreases with the Value; and that the purer, the richer, the weightier that Talent is, of which you once undertake the Custody and Preservation, the more it is incumbent on you to watch and stand Sentinel, lest Power should plunder, or Subtlety deceive.

But what kind of a Country, think ye, what kind of a Constitution is this, whose Trust is made so light of, by too Many among Us? even the freest, the wisest, the worthiest, the happiest, that ever was known in any Age, or established by any People.

And shall Men impudently pretend to make it an Article

Article of Honesty, a scruple, forsooth, of an over-tender Conscience, to steal a Neighbour's Purse, or to ravish his Daughter? and yet dare to avow a Rape on the National Constitution, to make Sale, Property, or Plunder, of that singular Prerogative, by which the Purses of a whole People can alone be secured?

When we read of distant and barbarous Regions, of Men-eaters and Men-sellers, we are apt to be struck with Horrour; without reflecting how far Custom and Example have reconciled Us to Tidings more near and in their Nature more shocking. Those Barbarians sell the Enemies they have taken in Battle; but politer *Europeans* too often make a Jest, of voteing themselves and their Posterity into Slavery.

I repeat it, and let me sound it again in your Ears, that there is not in Nature, any Sentiment of Horrour, any Aggravation of Guilt, that can be added to the Baseness and Treachery of an Irish Elector, who consciously and wilfully gives his Vote to one Candidate, while he thinks Another outweighs him in the Merit of a Hair.

Our Freedom of Elections is like the great Pulse of the Heart, from whence, Life, Health, Strength, and Energy, are dispensed throughout the Body, from whence the whole Constitution receives its Action and its Nourishment.

From the Freedom of your Voices proceed Legislators, from the Worth of Legislators proceeds the

the Wisdom of Laws, and from the Wisdom of Laws proceeds the Weal of Society.

You are the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End. From you alone issues this Fountain of Ordinances, which cannot but return in due Circulation, and must ultimately terminate in your Weal or your Woe. Insomuch, that there is not a single Permission of Guilt, Injury, Injustice, or Insult throughout the Nation, of Encroachment on Possession, or Usurpation of Right, for which Electors are not principally and finally answerable.

These are Truths of weighty moment, of very interesting Concern, and I am bold at all Times and in all Circumstances to declare them.

You have heard of many idle and impotent Imputations of factious Sentiments and Scurrilities, that I am said to have propagated; and thereupon you have heard of Threats denounced against me, I can suppose by no other than powerless Enemies, the Lovers of Iniquity, and Suppressers of Truth.

But, fear not for me, my gallant Countrymen, I walk clear of their Reach, and unassailable by their Malice; and I defy Printer or Vender, Acquaintance or Inmate, to produce an Action in my Life, or a Sentence in my Writings, that can be interpreted to intend the Disservice or Dishonour of my Country, or its Constitution, my King, or his Government: That can be interpreted to intend, even personal Injury, or particular Offence to any Man breathing; except he officiously directs that Arrow

to

to his own Breast, which I have ever pointed against Vice and Folly alone.

YET if any Man, after this, shall think me an Aggressor, I am ready to make him all the Reparation that Justice can require, or what his Pleasure shall further exact at my Hands.

THOUGH the Rules of Duty and good Conscience, which I have already laid down to you in my former Addresses, will equally serve as a Direction to all future Electors; you must remember, that on this especial Occasion, there is something very extraordinary and uncommon in your Case. The particular Constitution of your City is distempered, you complain of many Grievances and Maladies therein. You have many Possessions to apply for, many Rights to reclaim; and your Appeal naturally bends to the venerable Patronage of our National Representatives, who are the common Parents of all our Claims, and the Protectors of all our Tenures.

Now, though that honoured Convention may be duly versed and intimate with the several Mazes and Windings of our *general Constitution*; yet they may, without Impeachment, be in a great measure ignorant of the Nature and Disposition of your *particular Corporation*, of this *Machine* within a *Machine*, of this *Fœtus* or *Conception*, that lies within the Womb of its *beneficent Mother*.

WHEREFORE, the Attention that is more particularly expected from you at this Time, is to turn your Eyes to such experienced Candidates, as are

 constant

conusant of your Rights, and have been active in your Interests; who may set forth with Knowledge, explain without Confusion, reclaim in the Light of apparent Equity, and vindicate in the Strength of impregnable Truth, all your Possessions and Properties, your Privileges and Rights.

If your two *Aldermen Candidates* have engaged to do this; if you are persuaded that they will divest themselves of those Robes and those Ornaments, of which their crafty Ancestors have stripped your silly Forefathers, I know no single Exception to the Person of *Either*. But he who wittingly takes up his Lodging over Night, with a Host who had dispossed him of a Penny of his Property, will be deservedly chousd of a Pound before the Morning.

I must further warn you, that all Persons, in your Circumstances, labour under a Disadvantage peculiar to themselves. When any one sets up an unexpected Title, it is a Novelty, a Surprize, against Possession and Prescription; they cry out he is litigious, a Lover of Turbulence, and he is condemned by every Person who is ignorant of his Case.

Wherefore, when in the Vale of all Meekness, and Conformity to Government, you peacefully demand a Restoration of your Privileges, and a Renewal of the depraved Constitution of your City. When you legally solicit the Re-establishment of those Tenures, to which, by ancient Charters and royal Grants, you are undeniably entitled. Your Adversaries, who are are invested with your Interests

terests and Possessions, have, as it seems, no Matter for Vindication, or Reply. They therefore resort to the only Answer they can procure. They cry aloud, Ye are Rebels! ye are Factious! ye are Factious! Ye are the Stirrers of Strife within a happy Administration! and the Movers of Sedition against good Government!

But, against what Government do we move either our Suit or our Complaint? Against the Government of his sacred Majesty?——God forbid——No, my brave Countrymen, We have not so soon degenerated from the Spirit of our Ancestors, who compassed that great and ever glorious Revolution, whereon our present Prosperity and Freedom is established.

We have not so speedily repented of those generous Efforts, which the gallant Citizens of *Dublin* so signally exerted, in the latter End of the Reign of her Majesty *Queen Anne*, in Behalf of *the House of Hanover*, and of Religion and Liberty then endangered to these Nations.

We have not so suddently turned Apostates to our own Principles, to that Faith and Zeal which every Man of us evinced, in Declarations and Actions of distinguished Energy, on Occasion of the late audacious and detestable Rebellion.

We are not moved even in Thought against our serene Sovereign, or his gracious Administration.

We are loyal and firm, as ever, to our God, to our King, to our *Country*, and our *Constitution*.

It is by the Liberty of Spirit which we now shew, in the Reclaiming of our own Dues, and in the Assertion of our proper Privileges, that we are apt and evidently prepared to defend those Rights, that are still greatly dearer and more interesting unto Us; even the Rights of his sacred Majesty and of these his Free Dominions, on whom our proper Rights inclusively depend.

It is not in Opposition to our Sovereign or his Administration; it is not against Either, but agreeable to Both; it is to no Other than to our King and his Government that we appeal for Redress; and under Him, to the revered Representatives of our Country, now happily convened and assembled in Parliament; that august Body, united for no other Purpose, but to establish what is firm, to strengthen what is weak, and to restore what is lapsed in one generous Constitution.

But yet, my dear, free, and respectable Brethren, I must lastly remind you, and beseech you to beware, that you hold yourselves firm in a just and sedate Medium, between a Temper of tame Slavery, and of wild Rioting and Licentiousness.

I exhort you, in a Contention for Election and Pre-eminence, when the Spirits of Opponents are apt to ferment, and the Passions of Party to grow sanguine

sanguine and outrageous, that you remember your Conflict is not of the Flesh, it is not to be fought with Violence or Clamour, but in the Stability of Truth, and Perseverance of Virtue.

Do not in the End dishonour me your faithful Servant, whose Promises in your Behalf you have hitherto kept inviolable, and who is engaged for the Peace and good Order of your Demeanour.

It is not by any Motions of Riot or Sedition, that you ever did, or, I trust, ever will reclaim your Privileges. Give no such Advantage, my worthy and true Brothers, to the Adversaries of Liberty, to the Miners and Supplanters of your Civic Estate, who are wakeful and on the Watch for such a Cause of Exception. Continue firm, yet dispassionate, continue serene though provoked. So shall you defeat the only Train that can be laid, to render you obnoxious; and you shall cast back the Reproach of Riot upon your Accusers.

The true Courage and Soul of Liberty does not consist, in a froward, repining, or turbulent Disposition; but in a Resolution as calm as it is deep, in a patient, determined, and adhering Spirit, erecting itself in Benevolence, and founded on the Conviction and Consciousness of right Reason. All the Elements may forsake their Nature, and the material World suffer Wreck, but such a Spirit can

can never change, nor ſink under the Truſt that is repoſed upon it. Like Gold of the fineſt Bullion, it may be attempted, it may be wrought a thouſand different Ways, it may be mangled with Steel and tortured with Fire, but in every Trial and Operation, through which it can be paſſed, it will obſtinately retain its Value, its Weight, and its Purity.

When I was lately requeſted, by Hundreds among you, to declare myſelf a Candidate for the depending Election; I had the Mortification of becoming very little in my own Eyes, by reflecting how unequal I was to ſuch an Honour, how altogether undeſerving of ſo immenſe a Truſt. When I was further urged thereto by repeated Sollicitations; I determined to ſurrender myſelf wholly to your Service, to the Stretch of my Ability, and to the laſt of my Life.

But, when I underſtood that a Number of your moſt eminent Merchants had publiſhed a Declaration in Favour of *Mr. Read*, I with Pleaſure reſigned my low Pretenſions to a Gentleman, who to the Advantages of being a Free Citizen and excelling Trader, adds an acknowledged Superiority in every other Merit.

All therefore that I retain of this Diſtinction which you offered me, is a Gratitude as deep as Thought, and as laſting as my Being; which ſhall

at

at all Times be ready, and on all Occasions exerted, where your Commands shall direct, or your Interests shall call me.

Though new Candidates, my Countrymen, should daily be offered, though they should vary for ever, your Cause is still the same. The Point does not lye in your voting successfully, but virtuously. Though you may not be the *Foreseers* of the future Conduct of your Representatives, yet you cannot but be the *Feelers* of your own Duty and Impartiality. Should you happen to be mistaken in your Opinion of Candidates, it is an Error of Judgment, not of Heart. Members are not immortal, the former Lapse may be retrieved: But what Power under Heaven, can either restore or recompence, the inward Depravity of a base and prostitute People?

But, when you shall gloriously evince, and demonstrate to the World, that in this Article of prime Importance to yourselves and your Country, you tread superior to private Influence, and firm and unshaken, to all the Assaults of personal and sensual Impulse; you will give a singular Example of living Illumination, to all other Counties and Corporations in the Kingdom. You will give a public Testimony and Sanction to Virtue. You will render it fashionable, approved, and applauded. Your Children will be emulous of the good Works of their Fathers. You will deliver down the signal Precedent to many Generations; and when you shall have

have paſſed away, future Centuries who ſhall reap the Harveſt of your Truth, in all the bleſſed Enjoyments of Liberty and Proſperity, will recognize the glorious Anceſtors by whom the Seed was ſown.

F I N I S.

A

ENTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

EE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

[Price Two-pence.]

A TENTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My best beloved COUNTRYMEN,

I HAVE proved to you, that the Right of electing Members to represent You in Parliament, is, in its Nature of deeper Importance, and in its Consequence of more interesting Concern, than any other Privilege that can belong to Society.

I could further, apparently, demonstrate, that it would be mutually for the Advantage of Those who govern and Those who are governed, of the Tempters and the Tempted, of the Seducers and the Seduced, that no Influence whatever should be admitted by Electors; but that All should Vote with Freedom, with Impartiality, with Virtue.

From whence do Treasons, Rebellions, Seditions, Contempt of Law, Opposition to Magistracy, and all the Distractions that can rend Society, arise? even from the Vices, Depravities, and Corruptions of the People.

If these Things are not so, it would be curious to see a Treatise of the contrary System, (compiled perhaps by a *Cork Surgeon*, or some other of the many *Mountebanks*, who daily mix *Powder of Post* and *Poison* for our Political Constitution) wherein it should be clearly argued, and most ingeniously evinced, *that Slavery derives the Rancour and Extent of its Chain from the Popular Sense and Assertion of Liberty; that National Vices take their Origin from the Virtue of Individuals; and that the detestable Wretch, whose Integrity is Proof to all the Shocks of Power and Allurements of Wealth, is an Enemy to good Government, and a factious Pest to his Country.*

Had we been the unhappy Members of an *arbitrary Jurisdiction*, where *Obedience* was *measured by Power*, and *Will established for Law:* To advance, or even confess a Sense of National or Natural Freedom, would be Treason to such Government, a direct Assault upon the State.

But

But, bleſſed be our God! and thoſe our generous Forefathers, whoſe Providence we will adore, and whoſe Inſtitutions we will hold faſt; Who have founded and cemented our incomparable Eſtabliſhment, in the Deepneſs of Council, and in the Effuſion of Blood; This our Eſtate is not of Obedience to *Lawleſs Power*, but *commiſſioned Authority*; it is not ſubjected to *private Will*, but directed by *public Reaſon*.

He therefore, among us, who builds his Allegiance, on the Foundation of *Liberty*, of *Integrity*, of *Virtue*; is alone the *Kindred Part* of ſuch *a glorious Connection*, the *true Member* of his Country, the *firm Abettor* of his King, whoſe Power is erected on thoſe very *Principles:* While he who would debauch, divert, or terrify, a ſingle Man from his *Freedom*, or the Dictates of his *Conſcience*, is ſo far an Underminer of our *thrice bleſſed Conſtitution*, an Alien to *his Country*, and a Traitor to *his Sovereign*.

If GEORGE the SECOND is to be ſupported by a baſe and corrupt People, by whom are the Tyrants of the Earth to be upheld?

If Kings, whoſe diſtinguiſhed and pre-eminent Throne is *pillar'd* by the *Liberties* and *Conſent* of their Subjects, ſhould yet attempt to ſap that *Foundation of Virtue*, whereon the *Pillars* of *Liberty* and *Conſent* are laid; What new *Props* ſhall be put to ſuſtain their Dominion, that can differ from the Supporters of thoſe abſolute Seigniories? Where Empire is at Strife with the Weal of the People, and Authority and Magiſtracy are the Woe of the Land,

When

When Miniſters would inſinuate to the Princes of ſuch a Conſtitution, that they have an Intereſt diſtinct from that of their Subjects; that therefore an Oppoſition is neceſſary to uphold Prerogative; and that Bribery will engage Abettors, and Corruption win Loyaliſts, to the Advancement of Power and Elevation of the Throne; It is by no Means the Intereſts of their royal and deluded Maſters, that ſuch perfidious Architects, intend to erect; it is to attain Dominion to their own peculiar Party; that by ſevering the Hearts of beloved Monarchs from their Subjects, and transferring the royal Confidence to their own Cabal, in wielding the Scepter of their Princes, they might alſo rule the People; for it hath ever been the *Maxim* of the *Devil* and his *Machiavels*, *to govern by Diviſion*, and *derive Power to themſelves from the Weakneſs of others*. But a free and loyal Nation would counterwork ſuch pernicious Meaſures, as well in Love to their Sovereign, as in Providence to their ſelves.

When I adviſe you to ſuch, or ſuch Repreſentatives, I direct you to no Man of any Faction whatever, *Conſtitutional* and *Anticonſtitutional*, is your *Mark*; he is not to be of *Paul* or *Cephas*, of this *Party* or of that, but of the Proteſtant Church of Christ and the royal Houſe of Hanover; ſuch, as no Oppoſition ſhall ſtagger, no Influence divert, from the joint Intereſts of our Constitution, our Country, and our King.

Consider, my dear Friends, that you are not a *hidden People*, you are not neither placed in a *dark Lanthorn*, nor *put under a Buſhel*. You are the *Metropolis* of a great Nation, a Light ſet upon our higheſt Hill, to illuſtrate your whole Country by the bright Shining of your Example. You are the Source of Vice or Virtue, of Servility or Freedom, to all the other

other inferior and remote Corporations. You cannot but be diſtinguiſhed, for *Infamy*, or for *Honour*. You, then, who are for our *Conſtitution*; for our *Country*, for our KING, rank in with your *Loyaliſts*, adhere to your *Patriots!* So ſhall that *Country* repoſe in Peace upon your Boſom, the KING of our *Conſtitution* ſhall know his *Confidence* in time of Need, and his Deſcendants ſhall cleave to the Intereſt of your Poſterity.

So may I proſper here, and be bleſſed hereafter, as I am honeſt, and true, and confident, in averring, that our Religion and our Liberties, our Conſtitution, and the Houſe of our ROYAL AND GRACIOUS MASTER, can no way be ſecured, can no way be preſerved, but by the *Public Virtue*, and *public Spirit of the People.*

IT is a Spirit that I truſt will ever riſe ſuperior, to the Overbearings of Influence, and Diſcountenance of the Great: As I truſt it will alſo roll with Freedom and with Order, within its natural Channels of Reaſon and of Truth.

WHATEVER our Adverſaries may have impudently affirmed, of the univerſal Depravity of a neighbouring Nation; when, in order to recommend *Wickedneſs* and *Corruption* to your *Favour*, they tell you that *Patriotiſm* is *Hypocriſy*, and *public Spirit* a *Farce*: Even *London*, the Metropolis of the Country from whence we come, is pregnant with many ſhining and recent Examples, to Us her beloved Deſcendants, and her Siſter City of *Dublin.*

LONDON is not barely jealous of her own Rights and proper Privileges; She is jealous even of

of the Honour of any Man who claims her Truſt.

ONE of her *Aldermen*, Sir G——— C———, the very *Alderman* next the Chair, was ſuſpected of receiving a Bribe, to give his Vote in Parliament, not wholly agreeable to the Intereſts of his Country. What enſued? Though by the uſual and regular Rotation, it was his turn to be advanced to the Dignity of Lord Mayor; not all the Interceſſion and Authority of the Great, the Solicitation of Friendſhip, and Influence of Office, could procure him that Honour to which his Innocence had entitled him. He ſtood ſtignatized with the Imputation of a vile and corrupt Action; and the Loyal, the Firm, the virtuous Citizens of *London* annually oppoſed and rejected his Suit with Diſdain; and he remains to this Day an Inſtance of their Worth, and their Reſentment.

LET me add to the Diſtinction and Virtue of that FREE PEOPLE, that they ſollicited and in a Manner compelled into Parliament, that unblemiſhed and eminent Patriot, Sir JOHN BARNARD, at a time that he induſtriouſly declined the Honour they offered him, and by a Letter to their Chairman, read in publick Aſſembly, apologized for his Incapacity of diſcharging ſo great a Truſt, on Account of his Infirmities and want of Health.

SUCH Honour and Eſtimation do that great and gallant People appoint to the Claims of Service, and even the Silence of Merit; inſomuch that it is obſervable that the Repreſentatives of that trading City, generally ſtand forth diſtinguiſhed in the Parliamentary Rank, of the moſt loyal Patriots, and the moſt able Speakers.

I SHALL

I SHALL mention one Instance more, that may be applicable to your present Case, an Instance, which the *British Annals* will be careful to convey to your Posterity. It is taken from the late Conduct of the independent Electors of *Westminster*; and I have my Information from some Gentlemen with whom I was intimate in *London*, and who were the leading Spirits on that memorable Occasion.

WESTMINSTER, for many Years, had been called the *Ministerial Borough*. It was looked upon as a *Votary*, a very *Property* to *Influence*. The Candidates were generally appointed without Trouble, or Expence of Festivals; and were frequently elected without the Shew of Opposition.

THE Inhabitants had long been the Acquaintance of *Courtiers*; their City was the Residence and Home of *Dependents*, of *patient Waiters* for Employment, and *humble Suitors* for Place: Among whom are many Wretches, who would be the First to betray their Patrons, and the last to shed a single Drop of Blood, in Defence of the ROYAL SOVEREIGN by whom their Life is sustained.

ON this remarkable Election, Lord ———, and Sir *Charles Wager*, the two late Members, were again appointed Candidates; and no Obstruction was expected, no Opposition appeared.

LORD ———, to say the Truth, was a Man somewhat suspected, of bending to each Turn, and

 veered

veering with Occasions to make him for or against Party, or Country, or King, it was sufficient to shew him the Banner where his Interest was ranged. Sir *Charles* was a Man of well-merited Estimation, who was an honest-hearted *Briton*, and a gallant Sea-Officer, had done Honour to his ROYAL COMMISSIONER, and true Service to his COUNTRY. But, at this Period of Time, he was so far in the Decline of Life, and Capacity, that he wanted rather a *Couch for Slumber*, than the *watchful Seat in Parliament*; a *Nurse-keeping* for himself, and not the *Guardianship* of a Nation.

SOME few Days before that of Election, a small Company of active and independent Men assembled, but without any Prospect, as it was then imagined, of making the least Opposition. When One, more sanguine than the Rest, proposed to draw up an Advertisement to be inserted in the public Papers, requesting a Meeting of the free Electors, in order to consider of two proper Candidates to represent them in Parliament.

THIS was accordingly done; and at the appointed Meeting, Curiosity drew together about fourscore Persons. *Charles Edwin*, Esq; a Gentleman of a large Fortune in *Wales*, dropt in by mere Accident, and, being a free Inhabitant of *Westminster*, and a Person of Consequence, the Company joined to pay him the Compliment of the Chair.

ADMIRAL *Vernon*, at that time in the *West Indies*, was then proposed, and unanimously admitted a Candidate; and after some time a further Motion

was made, and the Company agreed in requesting Mr. *Edwin* to be their second Candidate; universally engaging that each Man then present should exert his utmost Interest to promote his Election. After some real Reluctance on the Part of Mr. *Edwin*, he was at length prevailed on to accept the Honour they offered him; and Matters being thus fixed, they parted for the Purpose.

On the first Day of Election, in casting up of the Books, the Ministerial Members were found to be seven hundred a head; and this confirmed the Public in their former Opinion, of the Absurdity and Weakness of an Attempt at Opposition.

But the few active Spirits, who had engaged in this Enterprize, were not to be lightly or suddenly dismayed; They were Strangers to Rest at this important Juncture; They spread themselves throughout the City and Liberties of *Westminster*; They displayed their white Flag, for *Vernon*, *Edwin* and Liberty! and many Freemen came together, and ranged under that Banner.

It should here be observed, that these two Candidates were known to be old and *staunch Whigs*, whose Families had been active in the *glorious Revolution*, and were at all times distinguished for their Firmness and Loyalty to the royal *House of Hanover*, and to the *present happy Establishment*.

THIS Election began on *Monday*, and notwithstanding that Days Disparity, by the *Thursday* following the Independents were drawing near to an Equality upon the Poll-Books. The Dependents were greatly alarmed at this; they found that they had already spent their best Fire; they had Intelligence that the Numbers and Powers of their Opponents daily encreased; a Council was called hereon; they determined at all Adventures to secure their Majority; this was agreed to be done in the *sure old Way*; the High-Bayliff had a Sign appointed to him for *closing the Books*; to this he objected his personal Danger, and that such an illegal and arbitrary Step might irritate the People; to quiet the Fears of the High-Bayliff, three Justices of the Peace and the Army were to be introduced, and Affairs being thus premeditated and settled, on *Friday* the Concerters with all their Instruments gave due Attendance.

As the Place of Election was at the front Steps of *Covent-garden* Church, the Guards were conveyed into the Church-yard the back Way from *Bedford-street*, with all possible Privacy.

AT the appointed Hour on *Friday*, much Time was purposely wasted in the Parade of Business, and a few Persons indifferently polled on both Sides, Till the Dependents took the Alarm, on the Appearance of the white Flag at the Head of upward of two hundred independent Voters marching up in Order through the loud Huzzas of the People.

THEY

THEY instantly seized the Occasion; a Riot! a Riot! they cried out, shut the Books! immediately the Books were shut; all was Amazement, all Confusion; and the Dependents retired to the Vestry.

IN some time after the trembling High Bayliff came forth, and with Hesitation declared Lord ——— and Sir *Charles Wager* duely elected. Upon this the Guards turned out in their Defence; the Populace were exasperated, and threatened an Assault: But then it was, that those VERY SPIRITS, whose Virtue had informed, and whose Action had animated this People, to *the Assertion of their prime Privilege*, the *Essence of all their Liberties*, the *Fountain of all their Rights*, even the *great and happy Freedom of an independent Election*; those VERY SPIRITS, I say, then knew their *due Limits*, *the Line of Law and good Government*, which VIRTUE and LIBERTY will never attempt to pass; They flew among the enraged Citizens, they commanded, they entreated; their Power carried Peace, and their Oratory Persuasion; the high wrought Passions of the Multitude subsided before them, and each retired patient, though murmuring, to his peaceful Home.

THIS remarkable Transaction, and Attempt on the Constitution, at once fired and collected all the Patriots of Fortune and Consequence throughout the Kingdom.

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A Petition thereon was speedily preferred to the House of Commons, signed with the Names of upward of eight thousand free Electors. After a full Hearing the Election was declared by Parliament to be void, the high Bayliff was sent to Newgate; and the three famous Justices were brought on their Knees to the Bar of that Honourable House, where they received a severe Reprimand for their high and heinous Offence. A new Writ was issued for a fresh Election, Lord *Percival*, now Earl of *Egmont*, was joined with Mr. *Edwin*, in the Room of Admiral *Vernon* who had been chosen for *Ipswich*, and they were accordingly elected without Opposition.

If *Fables* often carry their Moral along with them: Can *Facts*, so nearly relative, so eminent, and interesting, require any further Inference, or Application to the Point?

Though You judiciously decline to make any Parade, by Displaying the *Standard* or *white Flag* of your Liberties; the *great* and *indefeasible Patent thereof* is written in the Heart of every Free Citizen, which he will not suffer to be blotted by the Baseness of Influence, or erased by the encroaching Hand of Power.

On your Left stands the *Colossus* of *Aldermanic* Authority, bestriding your Trade, and trampling on your Possessions; his Stature conceals a Host of *Jobbs*, *Briberies*, *Corruptions*; while *Poverty*, *Slavery* and *Misery*, lye skulking in the Rear.

On your right Hand, ſtands Liberty, in Appearance unportioned and rudely apparelled, yet of heavenly Origin, and of Features Divine! She is ſupported on each Side by *Virtue* and *Reaſon*, *Honour* and *Affluence* come cloſe behind, her Train is compoſed of the buſy *Crafts*, ingenious *Arts*, and poliſhed *Sciences*; *Candour*, *Humanity* and *Chearfulneſs*, ſmile throughout the acquainted Ranks; and Happiness cloſes the accompliſhed Rear.

Who can heſitate a Moment on which Side to arrange?

F I N I S.

A

LETTER

TO THE

CITIZENS

OF

DUBLIN.

BY A FARMER.

DUBLIN:

Printed in the YEAR, MDCCLXVI.

[Price, 2 *d.*]

A

LETTER, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

THIS Addreſs comes to you from a Farmer, not that juſtly celebrated One, who in the Year 1749, writ many excellent Letters to You in Favour of Civil Liberty, and in Favour of a Citizen, who, on the Principles of Civil Liberty, ſet himſelf up at that Time as a Candidate for a Seat in Parliament, as one of your Repreſentatives. I boaſt not the Talents of my Brother-Farmer: On him hath Heaven itſelf beſtowed thoſe Powers of Oratory that have immortalized a *Cicero* and a *Demoſthenes*, and that Spirit of Freedom which hath marked a *Cato* as the principal Citizen of the World; yet, (hapleſs Fate!) with this Difference, that the mental Endowments and other diſtinguiſhed Merits of our Farmer, have been moſt ſhamefully overlooked, and unrewarded in the Land of his Nativity! *Cato* had a Fortune, and had powerful Family-connexions. B****KE *would*, but *could not*, be a *Cato*.

BUT,

BUT, Gentlemen, ſlender as my Portion of Abilities may be, I have ever had a Regard and Eſteem for virtuous Men, and for the Lovers of Liberty, (in the proper Senſe of the Word) and panted for a general Diffuſion of that Freedom intended for All by our happy Conſtitution. A Man in a Cottage ſurely may be animated as ſtrongly with this divine Love of Virtue, and juſt Liberty, as the Owner of a Palace.

I thought it neceſſary to make this preliminary Declaration with Reſpect to Perſonality, leſt *ſome* of you ſhould take me to be the Author of the former Letters addreſſed to you under the Name of *the Farmer*. I would not plume myſelf under ſuch a Deception: I ſcorn to *borrow* the ſmalleſt Portion of Reputation from the Name of any Man, however diſtinguiſhed in the literary World. The judicious Part of my Readers will at once diſtinguiſh my weak Efforts from the Powers of your firſt Farmer. I call him YOURS, becauſe he laboured for your Service.——My only Reaſon for calling myſelf a Farmer is, becauſe I really and truly am one. Now to the Purpoſe of my Letter.

My Affairs, Gentlemen, have very frequently brought me to this City, theſe many Years paſt. I have been a Spectator, and barely a Spectator, of many of thoſe remarkable Incidents, Alterations and Revolutions that have happened therein, in my Time, with Reſpect to your civil Policy and Concerns. I ſtood, and ſtill do ſtand, wholly unconnected with any Party, with any Set of Men, who have been on this, or that Side of a Queſtion, in your civic Affairs. But I have not, however, been an *indifferent* Spectator of theſe Matters. I mean, my good Wiſhes have always leaned in Favour of your common Intereſts, in

Favour

Favour of those Privileges to which you have had an undoubted Right; And let me assure you, Gentlemen, very sincerely, that your Success, in obtaining some of those Privileges, gave me very singular Pleasure. It is from this warm Regard for your Service, and for the Cause of Virtue, that I thus presume to offer you my Sentiments, cursorily, on some interesting Matters, that are now become an Object of Attention to *all* of you; and not to your corporate Body alone, but to all your Fellow-Subjects throughout the Nation; at least to such of them as would wish to *preserve* to themselves that Share in the Freedom of our glorious Constitution, which a great and flourishing Kingdom, (by whose protecting Hand we exist, as a People) hath been pleased to allow us.

THE Subject, Gentlemen, is exceedingly delicate; and I shall not venture to lay open all that passes in my Mind upon it. But I hope I may venture to touch lightly upon what is become the common, and, indeed, important Conversation in your City.

THE Representatives of the People saw the very distressing Situation, to which we have been reduced by the Hand of Providence, in the almost general Failure (last Autumn) of Grain, Roots and Vegetables, throughout the Kingdom. They saw Famine staring us in the Face. They gave the strictest Attention to this alarming Circumstance, and, like true Patriots, exerted all their Wisdom, in devising Means for preservin gus from its direful Effects.

The abominable Distilling Trade (for a softer Epithet than *abominable* would not correspond with Truth) has for a long Time voraciously destroyed, at once, not only the Sustenance, but the Morals, and even the Lives, of Thousands

and Thousands of His Majesty's Subjects; of our most *useful* People; of our *labouring* Poor. These indeed could very well support Life, without the use of distilled Spirits; but they could not support it, without those Ingredients, of which Spirits are made; that is, they could not, any more than their Superiors, live without Bread: For, POTATOES, their principal Food, (that Food which the lowest *British* Clown would spurn at; and to which, I am afraid, a most flagrant Error in our political System dooms the ill-fated Poor of this Country) are scarce, dear, and generally very bad.

THE Guardians of the People, therefore, resolved, by a very salutary Law, to put a stop to the Distilling Trade for a limited Time, that is, until indulgent Heaven should, in the next Harvest, be pleased to supply our Wants, and give us such Plenty of Grain as might admit of the Revival of that Trade, under such *Provisions* and *Restrictions*, however, as should hereafter be judged expedient to be appointed, for the Sake of augmenting the public Revenue. What more, Gentlemen, could parliamentary Wisdom do, to guard us against an apparently certain and general Distress, a Distress which would affect even the Great themselves?

WHAT the Fate of the Bill, formed for protecting us against the justly dreaded Famine, hath been, you all know. The *Intention* of it was certainly extremely good and provident. It does not become an obscure Man, as I am, to offer any Animadversions on a Measure so important with Respect to the Lives, at least with Respect to the Liberties, of a Nation; any Animadversions, I mean, tending to a Censure of that Measure. Moreover, I am not without some Apprehension,

that

that ſuch a Latitude would be anticonſtitutional eſpecially until the Expiration of the Act. W have the Comfort to know, Gentlemen, that Parliaments do not lay Claim to *Infallibility*: They often paſs Laws for *Trial*; and when Experience diſcovers, that a Law does not anſwer the original good Intention, they confeſs an Error which they could not, or did not foreſee, by reſcinding, altering, or totally abrogating the ſame.

THE Queſtion now, Gentlemen, ſeems to be (in Fact it is a Queſtion much agitated at preſent) whether it would not be better for the People of this Kingdom to endure that Famine and Diſtreſs, thus meant to be, and actually (we are told) provided againſt, than that they ſhould ſubmit to that *Innovation*, as ſome, (or that *Singularity* as others) call it, which has been made in our happy Conſtitution? In ſuch a critical Caſe, the Alternative is, you think, a hard one! On the one Hand, Hunger is a moſt terrible Thing; it forces its Way through Walls of Stone!—On the other Hand, the Loſs of Life itſelf has, by many of our political Writers, been always deemed preferable to the Loſs of Liberty: And he, who, in Scripture, is recorded to have ſold his Birthright for a Meſs of Pottage, has been, to this Moment, cenſured for the Bargain he made. But Hunger (poor Man!) impelled unhappy *Eſau*; he could not bear its Cravings longer; he loved Life more than his Property.— I have, however, ſo good an Opinion of our Guardians, that I verily believe, *dire Neceſſity alone*, on the People's Part, has been the *Cauſe* of the Meaſure ſo much complained of; and conſequently, that this Meaſure, ſaid to be ſo big, ſo pregnant with Evil, has not been *intended* for an *evil Purpoſe*, or as a *Precedent* for augmenting *hereafter* the Power of Miniſters, or of the

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——ve; as patriotic Suspicion has alarmingly suggested.

But should the Wisdom of the People Without-doors, consisting of some Millions, *think otherwise*; then the proper Method of Remonstrating on the Eligibility of *Famine* to *Innovation*, hath been pointed out to you by an honourable Gentleman, of great Knowledge, Virtue and Capacity, and who hath spent a great Part of his Life in your Service.

Your respectable Corporations, Gentlemen, have expressed *their* Sense of the important Measure that has been laid open and submitted to your Consideration, and of the strenuous and diligent Efforts (not only upon all former interesting Occasions, but upon the present critical one, in particular) used by your Addresser to preserve that small Portion, as they call it, of Liberty remaining in our Possession; a Demonstration that they themselves would make it their *Choice* to starve, and that *the whole Nation also ought to starve*, rather than give up the least Particle of this hallowed Remnant. The Addresser, indeed, is less rigorous in this Point. He contents himself with declaring he "thinks the actual Death of "the greatest Number, that could be supposed "to die of the *once* imagined Famine, the Fears "of which were otherwise happily removed, a "much less Evil, than the political Death of the "whole Kingdom, for which the *Alteration* layed "a Foundation."

This, Gentlemen, is true Fortitude: It affords a new and glorious Proof of the Patriotism and Virtue of the Citizens of *Dublin!* — Yet it gave me infinite Concern, *not very long since*, to hear many Individuals ask, "what hath such a Person "done for the City—, since his Election?" with

many

many Interrogatories and Expressions of the like disrespectful Nature; as if those People imagined that he, singly, and unbacked by a powerful Interest, ought to accomplish all those good Things, which their too sanguine Hopes had made them expect from the Object of their Choice! Talking in this Strain, I thought betrayed, at once their Ingratitude and (with great Deference I say it) their Want of Sense.—But the Occasion, that has lately, but happily for Liberty, presented itself to their Attention, has roused them to a proper Sense of his Merit; and they are convinced "that "it *now* plainly appears to this City and the whole "Kingdom, that one of your Representatives has, "since he has been appointed to that Trust, de-"voted his whole Time to the Discharge of the "Duties of his Station, with remarkable Vigi-"lance, &c."—This happy Change of Sentiment appears in a Petition of the 15th of *January*.

But, at the same Time that I heartily join with the zealous, and now grateful Petitioners, in an Opinion of those important Services, rendered to the City and to the Nation, by the "Vigilance, "Zeal and Fortitude, of this Gentleman;" yet I cannot but as heartily lament, that they have not cast a retrospective Glance at that "Vigilance, "Zeal and Activity," exerted by him *before* he was appointed to that Trust.—Surely we should, with the utmost Gratitude and Exultation, call to our Minds that critical, important, and interesting Period, in which the glorious Spirit of Liberty first took its Rise in this great Metropolis, as its proper Fountain-head, and spread itself through the whole Nation, animating with its genial Heat all Ranks and Degrees of People; a People long absorb'd in a deadly political Lethargy, and galled with the heavy Chain of Slavery!——Do

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But, with great Deference I ſpeak it, I apprehend that twenty Shillings *per Diem* is not a ſufficient Stipend; and I am led into this Notion from conſidering, that, in thoſe happy Times, when the Repreſentatives of the People received Wages from the People, Money was of much greater Value than it is now. Every Knight was allowed, if I am not miſinformed, thirteen Shillings and four Pence a Day, and a Burgeſs half that Money. I ſhould look upon it that the City of *Dublin*, being almoſt equal to one of our Provinces, in the Number and Wealth of its Inhabitants, ſhould allow to its Repreſentative (for I hear no Mention made of *more than one)* ſix Times at leaſt, as much as a County, or Shire: But, ſuppoſe this ſhould be thought unreaſonable, as deviating from the antient Uſage, and that, according to that Uſage, the Allowance was ſix Shillings and eight Pence; ſurely it muſt be confeſſed, that, even at the Time when Conſtituents diſcontinued giving Wages to their Members, ſix Shillings and eight Pence were of more Value than ſix Times that Sum *now*, when every Article for our Suſtenance is raiſed to, and bears much the ſame Proportion in Value. So that the Stipend, or Wages, to be given *now*, ſhould, in my humble Opinion, be forty Shillings *per Diem*, or ſeven hundred and thirty Pounds *per Annum*. Nor would double this Sum for two Members be too heavy a Charge for this great and over-grown Metropolis.

This Meaſure, if once eſtabliſhed in the chief City, will produce good Effects throughout the reſt of the Kingdom; and many worthy Repreſentatives, who never receive Court-Favours of any Kind, will obtain ſome Compenſation for their Attendance on the national Buſineſs. It muſt be allowed, indeed, that a great Hardſhip

would,

would, by ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, lye upon many of our Boroughs, the Inhabitants of which would be abſolutely ruined by ſuch an heavy Burden, as the Wages of their Repreſentatives. I would therefore humbly propoſe that the Repreſentatives ſhould either continue to ſupport themſelves at their own Expence, as they do at preſent; or, that they ſhould be at full Liberty to accept of Places and Penſions from the Court. But, on Recollection, I fear there might be a Majority upon ſome intereſting Queſtions, occaſioned by the Number of thoſe poor Boroughs: So that, I now apprehend the removing a Member from each of them, and appointing four for each of the Counties and great Cities (ſo as the full Number of three Hundred ſhould ſtill be kept up) would be the better Way.

But, Gentlemen, this Regulation, ſo warmly propoſed in this important Period, is humbly ſubmitted to you, who are the virtuous Propoſers of it. Your Wiſdom will ſuggeſt the proper Means for bringing our Conſtitution back to its firſt Principles, and fixing it on unſhakable Foundations.

It is with Regret I am obliged to diſſent from you, Gentlemen, in that noble Sentiment touched upon in a former Part of this Paper; *viz.* that you would think it more eligible that yourſelves and the reſt of the Nation ſhould ſtarve, than give up any Part of our Conſtitution, or ſuffer the leaſt Breach to be made into it. I am apprehenſive that this is *Virtue in Exceſs.* It is doubtleſs the *more admirable:* But I am afraid, it deviates too much from the Spirit of Chriſtianity, though it was that of the antient *Romans* and *Spartans.* Our Repreſentatives being Chriſtians, looked upon it, that ſuch as would, through a Wantonneſs of Liberty, as one may ſay, be inclinable to make it

their Option to ſtarve, in the Caſe above mentioned, would be anſwerable for their own Deaths, at a higher Tribunal; or, in other Words, would be guilty of Self-murder: And therefore they forced them to live. They thought it their Duty, as Chriſtians, and as inveſted with proper Powers, to preſerve their Bodies in this, and their Souls in the next World, from Deſtruction.

THERE are certain Bounds, Gentlemen, beyond which, human Nature will hardly ſuffer any great Exceſs. ------ Let the Members of a certain Board, and all the principal Citizens, (in order to try the Strength and Force of their Patriotiſm) give ſtrict Orders that neither Bread, Cuſtards, Dumplings, Cakes, Ginger-bread, or any other Article whatſoever, wherein Flour or Meal is uſed, ſhall be brought to their Tables. Let them alſo reſtrict themſelves from the Uſe of Beans, Peas, Potatoes, Parſnips, Carrots, Turnips, Cabbage and all other Roots and Vegetables; likewiſe from Ale, Porter, Whiſkey, and whatever is produced from Grain of any Kind; from Fowl alſo, which is fed moſtly with Grain: Let them, I ſay, abſtain from all the Particulars here mentioned, for the Space of a Fortnight: But let them have Roaſt-beef, Mutton, Veal, Fiſh and Claret in Plenty: If, at the End of that Time, they will declare upon their Honour, that they would make it their Choice to continue in that State of Self-denial, until the next Autumn, provided a certain Bill ſhould be repealed:----Then indeed they will give a moſt convincing Proof of their Patriotiſm, and demonſtrate to the whole World, that *Hunger* is preferable to any *Innovation* in this our Conſtitution. But God forgive me, if I have ſome violent Doubts in my Mind, of their making

making ſuch an Option, after the before-mentioned ſevere Trial; and whether they would not even ſubmit to an UNION itſelf, preferably to ſuch an Abſtinence.

I am, with great Reſpect,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant.

A FARMER.

P. S. As for the poorer Sort of People throughout the Kingdom, I queſtion much whether they would tamely bear ſo long, ſo virtuous a Forbearance from the Particulars ſpecified, for ſecuring any Branch of Liberty to their Poſterity (if Poſterity they could have) unleſs our great Folks would allow them Beef and Mutton to live on.

14

THE FREE-HOLDER'S ADDRESS TO THE FREE-CITIZENS OF *DUBLIN.*

DUBLIN:

Printed by JAMES ESDALL, on Cork-Hill, 1749.

THE FREE-HOLDER'S ADDRESS &c.

GENTLEMEN,

THE time being near at hand, when you are to chuse a Person proper to Represent you in *Parliament*; I think I can't employ a spare Hour, better than in giving some necessary Cautions in an Affair which does not alway offer it self to our consideration; and therefore you'll be the readier to excuse that freedom of thought and expression, which ought to be judg'd indifferently to every body upon these occasions.

I am my self a *Free-Holder*, and for that very reason have a natural right to examine into the merits of the *respective Candidates*, for this important trust: You all of you know (or at least ought to know) that he who has the trust committed to him, of making laws for the rest of his *Fellow-Citizens*; should be at least so far equal to such a trust, as to admit of no objections against either

his capacity or integrity, whatever might be made to his fortune or circumstances: I must be so free to tell you, were I to have my own choice, I should be willinger to *elect* a person with the first of these qualifications, and the reason (as I take it) is because such a man will be presumed to take every opportunity of distinguishing himself, when ever the *interest* or *honor* of his *Country* shall call upon him to do so; that is, upon the supposition he is of that sort of men that will happen to be properly affected with the love of praise; such a temper and disposition of mind must be intirely owing to *nature*, and indeed as the world goes there are I am afraid, but few persons so much in love with *glory* and *reputation*, as to forego any other advantages when they shall happen to come in competition with *them*.

From what is already offered, this necessary consequence may be infered *viz*. That when ever such a man is to be found, and at the same time in tollerable easy circumstances, he is undoubtedly the *person we ought to chuse*, I must not here omit some other qualifications requisite to form the *character* of our *Representative*. He should then be a man well versed in the study of the *laws* and *constitutions*, there should be added to such a knowledge, an easy elocution; for there are charms in eloquence easier to be conceived than expressed, and indeed this one endowment will carry a man a great way in such an *assembly*; I must not omit remarking that this single *talent of eloquence*, is of it self so considerable a part, that all the rest seem to be of no manner of use without

out it? For Godsake, of what service in life would be a yea, or nay, *rich man*, to you who comes into the *Senate house* of a morning, to sit as a *spectator 'till noon*; he is just as serviceable as the people are, who come there only to hear the debates: Is it not notorious that such men so unqualified can have any pretensions to a place, *which nature never designed them for?* But forsooth they are *men of large estates*, (that may be) and at the same time may be very great *block-heads*; that's so clear a point as I believe no body but themselves will dispute it, and tho' I would not have you to make choice of *a dull rich fellow*, it will not therefore follow, that you must necessarily chuse an *ingenious needy man*, no, I wou'd have him equal to the place, and then again above the *temptation of a bribe.*

I must confess that the degenerate age we live in, makes nothing shameful but *poverty*; and pray what have been the happy fruits of these depraved notions? Why truly, a few people more cunning and less honest than the rest of their countrymen, have got for themselves *great estates, at the expence of every tender sentiment arising from humanity and good nature*, pray do the communicate to their *needy brethren!* so far from doing so, that the wretchedness of the *poor*, and the *luxury* of the *rich*, were never so near their different extreams, you may perceive a perfect indolence and insensibility among the later, and do but change the prospect, you see nothing but discontent, dejection, and dispair, among the former, who under the present unhappy circumstances, seem re-

solved

ſolved rather to quit their Country, than bear the inſupportable load of *oppreſſion and want?* I ſhou'd not have entered into this digreſſion, but that the preſent ſituation of our affairs makes it neceſſary to ſay ſomething proper to inſpire you with a laudable averſion to thoſe inſenſible *ſavages, ſtrangers* to benevolence, and enemies to that *antient hoſpitality*, which our fore-fathers have been ſo famed for. Now then make the application your ſelves, and let *every man* aſk himſelf or his neighbour this ſingle queſtion, *whether Ireland ever more wanted ſome great and good men to ſtand up for it's intereſt?* The anſwer is ſo obvious, there will be no occaſion to mention it, therefore I conceive is of great importance.

Is it not a *debt* that every man who is a *member of the community* and has a *ſtake* in the city, owes to himſelf, to his *fellow-citizens* and to *poſterity*, to do what in him lies for promoting the common good, and oppoſing any *intereſt* that appears to him inconſiſtent with that of the *Publick*, and will not that man act contrary both to his *duty* and his *intereſt* (and if he be a *free-man* to the *expreſs tenor of his oath*) who where there is a competition between *candidates*, gives his vote upon any *ſelfiſh views, or at any body's inſtigation* for that perſon whom he believes in his conſcience to be *leſs capable and likely* to ſerve the city well, than's *competitor*, and eſpecially who ſides with a party, the ſucceſs of whoſe deſigns he's convinced will be prejudicial to the *publick*, and tend to perpetuate thoſe abuſes, the removal and prevention of which every good *citizen* can't but wiſh for and

if

(if he be consistent with himself) heartly endeavour,

If my fellow citizens will when this paper comes to their hands sit down, and deliberately go over these rules one by one, and without byas or partialty towards either of the contending parties, ask his own opinion concerning each of them, resolving to vote and act on this occasion agreeable to the dictates of his own judgment and not in compliance with other men's importunities or persuasions. I shall be in no pain about the issue of the present *election*, but take it for granted that every man of common sense and honesty will without any body's telling him which way to vote, take the right side of the question, and favour the pretensions of the *candidates* whom it is the interest of the city to chuse for their *representatives*.

Let me entreat you gentlemen, to deal candidly in this matter, and to behave with a *prudence* and *resolution* worthy of *citizens:* Suffer not yourselves to be either cajoled by the flattering pretences of *artful men* who by fair speeches endeavour to impose upon you, or terrifyed by the threats of those that are *land-lording* you into a compliance with their desires. Be just to your selves and stand by your own rights and liberties, as becomes *Protestant free-men* and *free-holders*, that know the value of their priviledges, and think them worth contending for. Let not *passion prejudice or any little private interest* govern you on this impoptant occasion. Believe not every idle report, nor take any thing for granted that affects the present question till you see it well proved. Lyes are only the strength of a cause that wants

reason

reason to support it. Regard not the false and malicious insinuation of those who are for making *this election a party cause* betwixt the *church* and the *dissenters*. Can any thing be more absurd than such a representation or can there be a grosser imposition upon your understanding, than the attempting to perswade you that this is the case, when the contrary is as visible as *day light* to any man that has his eyes open.

I can assure you, I scorn either to detract or flatter, their persons are alike to me, I wish them all well, but I would have you impartially to consider which is the most proper person: and not to vote for favour or affection, but according to the best of your knowledge, for the good of your country.

This is the sincere desire of your friend and well-wisher,

DUBLIN, *August* 23*d*. 1749.

15

THE

CHARGE

OF THE

Right HONOURABLE

Thomas Marlay, Esq;

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE of his MAJESTY'S Court of *King's-Bench* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*,

TO

The GRAND JURIES of the County of the City of *Dublin*, and County of *Dublin*; on the sixth of *November* 1749, and printed at the Request of the said GRAND JURIES.

(By Leave of the said CHIEF JUSTICE.)

DUBLIN:

Printed by OLI. NELSON, in *Skinner-Row*, 1749.

I Direct OLI. NELSON to print this Charge, and that no other print the same.

THO. MARLAY.

THE

CHARGE

OF THE

Right HONOURABLE

Thomas Marlay, Esq;

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE of his MAJESTY's Court of *King's-Bench* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, &c.

Gentlemen of these several GRAND JURIES,

YOU are called here together, on an Occasion which, tho' it frequently, and regularly happens, is (especially at this Time,) of the greatest Importance to the Interest of your several Counties.

THE Prosperity of all Countries depends upon a wise Frame of Government, equal and

prudent Laws to regulate Property, and to restrain and punish Offenders, and a due and exact Execution of those Laws.

WITHOUT these Blessings, the Advantages of Climate, Situation, nay even of Trade, and Riches, contribute but little to the Happiness of a People, and very often serve only to promote Luxury, Sloth, Oppression, and Rapine among the Subjects at Home, and to encourage Insults, and Invasions from their Neighbours abroad. So that *a Land flowing with Milk and Honey*, where the Government is ill formed, or ill administered, becomes a Curse to the Inhabitants.

OUR Constitution is so wisely fram'd, the Powers given to the several Parts of the Legislature so properly balanced, such Provisions made to preserve the Authority, and Person, of the Sovereign, to protect the Lives, Liberties, and Properties, the Peace, Credit, and Reputation of the Subject, that all great Legislators, all wise Nations, have, in all Ages, rather propos'd, and wish'd for, than enjoy'd a Form of Government, model'd like that at present established in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

OF Consequence, our Laws, where the Representatives of the People, and the principal Men of the Kingdom, for so very many Centuries, have had such frequent Opportunities of Meeting, to consult, and deliberate upon, to alter, and amend the old Laws, and make new *ones*, with the Consent of their Kings, many *of whom* have been the best, as well as the greatest,

greateſt, Princes in *Europe*, and, like our preſent Sovereign, have never refus'd, or omitted, to do every Thing for the Good of their People, are the moſt prudent, and equal, the leaſt ſevere, and at the ſame Time the moſt juſt, and reaſonable, of any in the World.

No Tortures allow'd, (a Practice uſed in every other Country in *Europe*,) no Man capitally puniſhed, unleſs the *Grand Jury*, the principal Perſons of the County, think the Accuſation probable, nor unleſs the *Petty Jury*, his Equals, find him guilty.

The Liberty, and Property of every Man, and his Reputation, as valuable as any Property, are ſecured with equal Care. Such is the Excellency of our Conſtitution, and of our Laws; as to the regular Execution of thoſe Laws, in your ſeveral Counties, it depends upon you, Gentlemen.

You are under the higheſt Obligation, from the Oath you have now taken, from your Intereſt, from your Duty to the King, and from the Regard you each of you have to his Character, to omit Nothing, to do every Thing, that may preſerve the Peace of your Country, *without Fear, Favour, or Affection.*

For this Purpoſe, you are to enquire into all Offences committed within your ſeveral Counties, whether Capital, or againſt the Peace.

The

The Capital Offences in *Ireland*, ſuch as are puniſhed with Death, are either High-Treaſon, or Felony.

High-Treaſon is an Offence more immediately againſt the Perſon of the King, and moſt ſeverely puniſhed, becauſe the Safety, Peace, and Tranquility of the Kingdom is highly concerned, in the Preſervation of his Perſon, Dignity, and Government; and becauſe, as the Subject hath his Protection from the King, and his Laws, he is bound by his Allegiance to be true, and faithful, to his Sovereign.

You, Gentlemen, have ſo often ſerved your Country, in this important Truſt, have ſo often been put in Mind of the ſeveral Species, and Kinds, of Treaſon, aſcertained by the Statute of *Ed.* 3. and enacted by the ſeveral Statutes made in this Kingdom ſince that Time, that I ſhall not now enumerate them, nor the ſeveral particular Species of Felony.

But ſhall put you in Mind, that counterfeiting the Coin, is by that Statute of *Ed.* 3. Treaſon, and the Clipping, and Diminiſhing of it, is by ſubſequent Statutes, of Force here, made the ſame Offence.

Money is the Common Meaſure, and Standard of all Commerce; and in all Countries, is, and ought to be, under the immediate Care, and Inſpection of the Sovereign. The publick *reſt* the Weight, and Fineneſs of it. The

Practice

Practice of filing, and washing Guineas, and Half-Guineas, tho' High-Treason by Law, has been of late too commonly practis'd in this Kingdom; the late Proclamation, offering a Reward and Pardon, has not yet had Effect. To detect these Robbers of the Publick, and bring them to Punishment, is a Thing worthy your Enquiry.

The Persons of Kings are in all Monarchies held inviolable, and the Design to destroy them, if manifested by any Overt-Act, is by our Law justly punished with the utmost Severity; the infinite Confusions, which follow upon the Murder of a King, hinder often those Offenders from being punished at all, who can never be sufficiently punished.

And levying War against the King, is not only High-Treason of itself, but an Overt-Act of compassing his Death.

When Posterity read that in this Age, a Rebellion was carried on in *Great-Britain*, without the least Colour, or Pretence, of Oppression; nay, by many who had not even that false Pretence of Religion to palliate their Treason, against a Prince, one of the best, the most merciful, just, and most generous, of our Royal Line, who has given the Fortunes of all Criminals, whether forfeited for Crimes against the State, or for other Offences, to their Children, or Relations, (a Grace never practis'd before;) who has expos'd his Person at the Head of his Armies, in Defence of the Liberties of his Kingdoms, and of *Europe*; and that Ireland, where much the greatest Part of the Inhabi-

bitants profeſs a Religion, which ſometimes has authoris'd, or at leaſt juſtified, Rebellion, not only preſerv'd Peace at Home, but contributed to reſtore it among his Subjects of *Great-Britain*.

WILL they not believe that the People of *Ireland* were actuated by ſomething more than their Duty and Allegiance? Will they not be convinc'd, that they were animated by a generous Senſe of Gratitude, and Zeal for their great Benefactor, and fully ſenſible of the Happineſs of being bleſs'd by living under the protection of a Monarch, who like the Glorious King *William*, the *Henries*, and *Edwards*, his Royal Predeceſſors, has himſelf led his Armies to Victory, and deſpis'd Danger in the Cauſe of his People; and one from whom we not only expect, but are aſſured of, a Race of Princes, equally eminent for their Generoſity, Prudence, and Courage.

BUT will not they be, are we not ourſelves, aſtoniſh'd to find, that in the Capital City of that Kingdom, a City the moſt diſtinguiſh'd, for their Duty, Zeal, and Affection to their Sovereign, within leſs than three Years, *publick Encouragement* ſhould be given, to a moſt infamous, inconſiderable, and impudent Scribler, who has dar'd in print to menace his Majeſty; has dared moſt falſely, and ſcandalouſly, to calumniate and traduce both Houſes of Parliament, the King's Miniſters, Lord Lieutenants, and all Magiſtrates from the higheſt to the loweſt; nay who has dar'd to attempt the utter Subverſion of our Conſtitution, and to bring us into abſolute *Anarchy* and

Confuſion;

Confusion; who has dared to prescribe a *solemn League*, and *Covenant* to be taken by such as set up for Representatives in Parliament, or for the considerable and lucrative Offices in the City; tho' the Writ, which impowers the Choice of Members to serve in Parliament, directs that they shall have *full* Powers,

NAY this impudent Scribler, tho' the Proctors of the Clergy are excluded the House of Commons by an Act of Parliament in this Kingdom, has dar'd to introduce not only them, but all who have a Right to vote, above one hundred and fifty Thousand, into the House of Commons as Assessors; and says *They have a Right to sit there, and to hear, and to observe the Conduct of their Representatives*: Where will he find a Place capable to receive them?

THIS is indeed preaching up Anarchy.

THIS Scribler, this Impostor, has fled from Justice; his Works (but I hope not his Influence) remain.

I HOPE we shall be no longer seduced by the Name, the Shadow of Liberty, and by catching at it, lose the Substance.

LET no more *Lambert Symnels*, *Perkin Warbecks*, or Princes of *Passaw* be countenanced or encouraged among us. *Let us at last awake and vindicate the Constitution.*

We are and shall always continue free, have the same Right to acquire Honours, and Estates, in *Great-Britain*, as well as *Ireland*, and to tax ourselves, as any of his Majesty's Subjects, unless this Impostor can procure *an Army, to lead on any Emergency he shall think fit*, it may be, to put to Death the Collectors of the Duties of Customs, Excise, and Hearth-Money, whom he declares Pirates, and Robbers; and the Acts of Parliament they are impower'd by, made in this Kingdom in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, to be Anticonstitutional, and void; or prevail upon us to renounce our Connexion with *Great-Britain*.

But you may ask, Gentlemen, what can we do in this Case? This Impostor, this Seducer, this false Preacher, is already declar'd an Enemy to his Country, by the Grand Inquest of the Nation.

Don't deceive yourselves, Gentlemen; his Papers remain, and there are some deluded People, who are not yet cur'd of their Infatuation. *Those who are not against him, are for him*; and those who abet, or encourage him, are equally guilty, and deserve his Fate.

'Tis in your Power, it is your Duty, to present all seditious Libels, the Authors, Printers, and malicious Publishers of them, in your several Counties; and this brings me to mention the Nature of Libels.

A Libel is a malicious Defamation of any Person dead or living, express'd either by Writing, Printing, or Picture, and is most severely punish'd by the Law, because of the direct Tendency to the Breach of the Peace.

This was always a dangerous Offence; but is much more so, since the Invention of Printing, and since Printing-Presses have been so common. And let me observe to you, Gentlemen, *That nothing can preserve the Liberty of the Press, but an effectual Restraint of the Licentiousness of Printing.*

How miserable must be the Condition of all Men, in a Country where every Garret-Scribler, every one who employs those Hours he ought to spend in his Shop, in defaming and reviling his Neighbours, and all in Authority over him, instead of following his lawful Trade and Occupation!

Printers and Hawkers for their Penny, and Half-penny, take infinite Care to propagate the Scandal, and the injur'd Person has but seldom the Opportunity of a Vindication.

If Reputation be what every good and honest Man ought to value; if Fame, tho' not the best, be one of the most common Motives to Great and Laudable, nay even to *Charitable Actions*, how pernicious a Wretch,

how

ho much an Enemy to Mankind, muſt he be, who endeavours to take away the very Incitements to do Good, and perſuade the World to ſet no Value on Reputation; which, by theſe Means, is in the Power of every infamous Scribler to deſtroy!

Does not this tend to the Subverſion of all Morality, the very Tie and Bond of Human Society? To perpetuate Animoſities, and create eternal Breaches of the Peace among private Perſons? And where Libels are againſt the Government, they tend to the Subverſion of it, in my Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*'s Opinion.

Take away the Credit of Magiſtrates, and you, in a great Meaſure, take away their Authority.

Where the Validity of Laws, and the Power of the Legiſlature, are thus publickly declaim'd againſt, and revil'd, nothing but Force and Violence muſt prevail, and Mankind muſt live in the Condition of Beaſts of Prey.

Shall our Governours, our Parliaments, our Magiſtrates, loſe all that Reverence due to them, becauſe ſome infamous Writers dare defame them?

Are Printers to make and repeal Laws? Muſt one of the loweſt and meaneſt of Tradeſmen, without Learning, without any Opportunity

tunity of converſing with Men of Knowledge, and Experience, dictate from behind his Counter to the Government, to the Magiſtrates of his Country, and not only pretend to inſtruct, but reproach and vilify them?

I wiſh ſome of theſe Political Preachers, theſe Mountebank Politicians, had at leaſt read *Æſop*'s Fables, and there remember'd the Story of the War between the Members and the Belly.

THIS might have cur'd them of their Affectation of *Independancy*.

INDEPENDANTS were the People, who in the laſt Age deſtroy'd the Conſtitution; the King, firſt the eſtabliſh'd, then the Preſbyterian Church, and at laſt themſelves, and who brought theſe Kingdoms under Tyranny, and arbitrary Power.

GOD Almighty has ſo form'd the World, that all Things are dependant on him, and on one another. In each Syſtem of Beings all are moved and act in their proper Spheres, and each contributes to the Advantage and Preſervation of the other.

A Subordination is as neceſſary in Government, as in Nature.

BUT, Gentlemen, I neither ſay, nor think, that Men of the meaneſt Parentage, or loweſt Occupation, may not deſerve the higheſt Employ

ployments, and Honours; it is one of the happy Circumſtances of our Conſtitution, that they are capable of both, where they have deſerv'd them; *that all Men, by Virtue, may attain to Honour.*

But ſurely *Want of Birth*, and *Want of Education are not alone Merit!*

Gentlemen, I am fully convinc'd that not one in forty of the Followers of that infamous Scribler, *who has now fled from Juſtice*, knew his Principles, or conſidered the Tendency of them.

But I fear there may yet be ſome few among us who hope to make their Advantage by our Confuſion, and theſe may have Followers; for as Liberty is the moſt juſtifiable Cauſe, 'tis the moſt ſpecious Pretence.

Exert yourſelves, Gentlemen, free us from theſe inſolent Libellers, theſe abandoned Printers, and Publiſhers, theſe *Jack-Straws*, *Wat-Tylers*, and *Jack Cades* of the Age.

Every Thing, that tends to the Breach of the Peace, is under your Inſpection; let theſe Miſcreants ſee that you have a juſt Indignation againſt them and their Works, and that you are reſolv'd to execute the great Truſt committed to you, *without Fear, Favour, or Affection.*

F I N I S.

DUBLIN, AUGUST, 1773.

PROPOSALS for Printing by SUBSCRIPTION,

THE

POLITICAL WORKS

OF

CHARLES LUCAS, M. D.

LATE REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

CORRECTED BY HIMSELF.

AND NOW

COLLECTED, REVISED, and PUBLISHED,

By EDWARD FOSTER, M. D.

WITH

A SHORT REVIEW

OF

His LIFE, CONDUCT, and CHARACTER.

BY

An IMPARTIAL FRIEND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI. HOR.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY RICHARD STEWART IN ABBEY-STREET

THE EDITOR'S

Addreſs Dedicatory,

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

The LORD MAYOR,

THE WORSHIPFUL

THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN,

THE

SHERIFFS, COMMONS, CITIZENS,
AND FREEHOLDERS

OF THE HONOURABLE

CITY of DUBLIN.

MY LORD, AND GENTLEMEN,

PERMIT the ſon of your late faithful ſervant to approach you, for the merits of his father. From the one hand he preſents you with an everlaſting monument of your late repreſentative's inviolable attachment; from the other, with a token of his own high eſtimation, and profound reſpect.

FROM the day of his maturity, nay from the very dawn of his youth, to the hour of his death, were the chief labours of CHARLES LUCAS exerted in the ſervice of his country, and devoted to the good of this city. The blandiſhments of luxury he voluntarily relinquiſhed for the toils of improvement; the endearments of eaſe, for the turmoils of reformation; the

peace

peace of obſcurity, for the envy of eminence; domeſtic happineſs, for public ſtrife; and the ſecurity of retirement, for the oppreſſion of tyrants, and the perils of exile. For this ſingular and aſtoniſhing conduct, ſome men believed him deſigning, others diſhoneſt, many deluded, ſeveral mad, and even ſome a fool. The ſilent grave now gives her awful, unerring verdict, and TRULY ſpeaks the man. And oh! that every friend of Ireland, that every lover of his country, may make ſo honourable an exit! Still ſtruggling, even to the very laſt, to guard her rights; and lamenting, in his laſt agonizing moments, her impending dangers!

PARDON, My Lord, and Gentlemen, this ſmall tribute of bounden duty; and impute not to the mean partiality of connexion, or affinity, the unreſtrained ſentiments of a free heart. The powerful ſympathetic attractions of generous freedom firſt made the editor, the ſon. The ſame liberal tie now conſtitutes the ſon, the editor. ACCEPT then, my Lord, and Gentlemen, from his hands, a work, each individual line of which was penned, but for your ſervice, and the public good; a work, whoſe tenour is patriotic virtue, whoſe ſole purport is liberty, whoſe baſe is independence, whoſe fabric is freedom. PROTECT in the aggregate, what you have ſo often countenanced in the individual; and SHIELD, from the malignancy of its enemies, the memory of a man, who has ever flown with ardour, and whoſe peculiar pride it was, to erect his creſt againſt YOUR foes. Nor let the reſentment of any be remembered to his aſhes, who never offended, but in his attempts to pleaſe; who never cenſured, but in his endeavours to amend; nor injured, but in the acts of public juſtice. When you weigh theſe truths, my Lord, and Gentlemen, in oppoſition to the accuſations of

ſlander, and the detraction of calumny, your candour will acquit the editor of any evil deſign to revive the memory of dormant broils, or to ſtir the aſhes of extinquiſhed faction. The city of Dublin, now baſking in the meridian ſun of freedom, and rejoicing in the vertical rays of liberty, muſt contemn the united powers of diſcord. Nay, bleſſed be the days! and recorded the reformation! we have lived to ſee a patriotic Board of Aldermen, and a virtuous magiſtracy; no more like their predeceſſors, than the upright David to the abandoned Saul. Whilſt the faithful repreſentatives of the city in council, according to their long wonted cuſtom, act as far beyond the reach of cenſure, as above the powers of panygeric; and the friendly bonds of ſocial union now cement the proceedings of this exemplary, and dignified metropolis. In ſuch times, and to ſuch men, muſt it not prove a pleaſing retroſpect, to examine the gradations, by which they have arrived at ſo diſtinguiſhed a character? The tracts, my Lord, and Gentlemen, with which you are preſented, will unfold theſe to your view. Suffer the editor then to explain to you, and to the public.

1ſt, The motives that incited him to this undertaking; and

2dly, The nature and extent of it.

The productions of Doctor Lucas's pen have been, at all times, and in all places, in which they have appeared, read with ſuch avidity, and purchaſed with ſuch precipitance, that a copy of a ſingle pamphlet is not now to be obtained for money. His political pieces have been numerous, various, and diſperſed; upon the moſt intereſting ſubjects, and the moſt important queſtions; and tho' moſt of them have run through many *editions*, yet we find the changes of time ſo quick,

and

and its lapſe ſo great, that few veſtiges of them are left, except the noble effects of their diffuſed, liberal ſpirit; which it cannot be deemed preſumption to aſſert, My Lord, and Gentlemen, may be traced, at this day, from the porter-houſe club, to the bar of the houſe of Lords. They have enlightened the underſtandings of your citizens, informed the councils of your aſſemblies, and influenced the votes of your ſenate. Then why, My Lord, and Gentlemen, when ſuch and ſo great have been their demonſtrable effects, why, I ſay, ſhould the cauſe, the origin of theſe effects, be buried in oblivion? Forbid it freedom! Forbid it honour! Forbid it gratitude! A generous ARDOR PATRIÆ hath gone forth amongſt us——Canoniſed be their ſouls who have cheriſhed the paſſion!——LUCAS firſt propagated it.——

MY Lord, and Gentlemen, ſhall the editor ſay more in his defence? he will. He has been called upon, repeatedly called upon, by men of eminence, and honour, to do that juſtice to his father's memory, which his connexion rendered his duty, elſe that they themſelves would ſtep forth, and aſſume the friendly office. Tho' much inferiour to them, he complies; and whilſt he confeſſes his inability, yet he is proud of the pleaſing taſk.

HE next, My Lord, and Gentlemen, propoſes to explain to you, and to the public, the nature and extent of the undertaking; by laying before you a ſhort connected detail of the work, in order to obtain your encouragement, or to incur your diſapprobation, as the premiſſes may be candidly judged to merit: and in order to demonſtrate the very great importance of its ſubject; being no leſs than an inveſtigation of the boundaries of our ſacred conſtitution, a vindication of

our birth-rights as free ſubjects, a candid limitation of privileges and prerogatives, and a ſtrenuous defence of the cauſe of univerſal liberty.

FIRST then as to the ſize and price of the work, he has been influenced by nothing, ſo much as his deſire to reduce it within the moſt moderate compaſs; and has been in this entirely diſpoſed and guided by his printer, who makes it appear, that it cannot be compriſed in leſs than ſix full volumes octavo, upon a proper ſized type, containing about twenty-five ſheets each, the loweſt price of which is 1l. 6s. or 4s. 4d. per volume in blue boards.

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3. An appeal to the commons and citizens of London.
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5. A letter to the electors of Dublin.

VOL. VI. contains,

1. Seasonable advice to electors.
2. Several addresses to the Lord Mayor, &c. on the corn bill, augmentation, &c.
3. The liberties of Dublin.
4. A mirror for courts martial.
5. The rights of parlement.

☞ The editor judges this far of his Address Dedicatory sufficient for the purpose of explaining his undertaking, and has therefore, with all due deference, submitted it to the consideration of the public.

CONDITIONS.

I. THAT the work be comprised in SIX VOLUMES Octavo, printed upon a new type and good Paper, with an elegant engraved head of the Author.

II. That the price to Subscribers be 1 l. 6 s. to be paid upon Subscription, as double payments in such cases are found extremely incommodious and troublesome as well to the Subscriber as Editor.

III. That the price to Non-subscribers be Five Shillings and five-pence per volume.

IV. That Subscribers for twelve copies have a thirteenth gratis, and so in proportion.

V. That the work be put to press as soon as 300 subscriptions are received, if not the cash paid to be positively returned the 1st day of JANUARY, 1774.

VI. That Subscribers paying 1 l. 14 s. 1 d. h. be entitled to their copies upon royal paper.

SUBSCRIPTIONS will be taken in by Alderman FAULKNER, Parliament-street; Mr. THOMAS EWING, and Mr. RICHARD MONCRIEFF, Capel-street; Mr. JAMES WILLIAMS, Skinner-row; Mr. JAMES POTTS, Dame-street; Mr. WM. GILBERT, Great George's-street; Mr. RICHARD STEWART, and the EDITOR, Abbey-street.

RECEIVED from [illegible] the Sum of One Pound Six Shillings, Sterl. in full for the POLITICAL WORKS of the late CHARLES LUCAS, M. D. this Day of 1773.

No. 472. Dr. Foster

The Case of the Lord Mayor

CASE

OF THE

LORD-MAYOR, SHERIFFS, *Commons* and *Citizens* of the CITY of *DUBLIN*,

With the

LAWYERS OPINION thereon,

Relative to the

RESTORING Dr. *CHARLES LUCAS* to his FREEDOM of said CITY.

Published by ORDER of the Honourable CITY of *DUBLIN*.

DUBLIN:

Printed by OLI. NELSON, Printer to the Honble the CITY of *DUBLIN*, M,DCC,LXI.

THE CASE OF THE LORD-MAYOR, SHERIFFS, *Commons* and Citizens of the CITY of *DUBLIN*, *&c.*

THAT the City of *Dublin*, by several antient Charters, is incorporated by the Name of Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens; and by Charter of *Charles* the First the Mayor was constituted *Lord-Mayor*.

THE NEW RULES after reciting that the Common-Council of the City did consist of Lord-Mayor and twenty-four Aldermen, who had usually sat together in one Room apart by themselves, and also of such who were commonly called *Sheriffs-Peers*, not exceeding forty-eight Persons, and ninety-six other Persons who were elected into the said Com-

mon-Council, out of the ſeveral Guilds or Corporations of this City, who had uſually ſat together in one Room apart by themſelves, and had uſually been called the *Commons* of the ſaid City, among whom the Sheriffs, for the Time being, did preſide.

Do ORDAIN, That the Common-Council of the ſaid City, for ever, thereafter, ſhall conſiſt of the Lord-Mayor and twenty-four Aldermen, who, or any eight or more of the ſaid Aldermen, with the Lord-Mayor, ſhall continue ſtill to ſit apart by themſelves; and *alſo* of the Sheriffs of the ſaid City, for the Time being, who are to preſide amongſt the reſt of the Common-Council of the ſaid City, as hath been formerly accuſtomed; and alſo ſuch who are commonly called *Sheriffs Peers*, not exceeding forty-eight, and ninety-ſix other Perſons to be choſen out of the ſeveral Guilds or Corporations, for which they were formerly choſen, who ſhall enjoy their Places of Common-Council-Men only for three Years.

THE ſaid Common-Council tranſact all the Buſineſs of the ſaid Corporation, at

at their Assemblys, or Meetings, called *Quarter-Assemblys*, or *Post-Assemblys*, and all their Transactions are engrossed on Parchment, and stiled *the Rolls of Assembly*.

The Quarter-Assemblys are held on the second *Friday* after *Easter*, the fourth *Friday* after *Midsummer*, the third *Friday* after *Michaelmas*, and the fourth *Friday* after *Christmas*. Christmas

The Method of applying to the Corporation for the Admission of Freemen, or any other Business whatsoever, is by Petition, which is lodged in the Town-Clerks Office, and directed *To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of the City of* Dublin, to receive their Approbation, or to make it a Corporal Act; the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, in their House, in the Margin of the said Petition, write such Order as they think proper, and under the Word *Granted*; then they send it by an Alderman to the Sheriffs and Commons siting in their House, for their Concurrence, who if they approve thereof, one of the Sheriffs, under the said Order so conceived by the Lord-Mayor

and

and Board of Aldermen, write the Word *Allowed*, and return the ſame, by two of their Members, to the Lord-Mayor and Board of Aldermen.

9, Oct. 1. THAT the Honourable Houſe of Commons, of this Kingdom, were pleaſed to come to the following Reſolutions:

" RESOLVED, That it is the Opinion " of this Committee, that the ſeveral " printed Papers entitled, A Dedication " to the King, an Addreſs to the Free- " Citizens and Freeholders of the City " of *Dublin*, a ſecond, a fourth, an " eighth, a tenth, an eleventh, and a " fifteenth Addreſs to the Free-Citizens " and Freeholders of the City of *Dub-* " *lin*, ſubſcribed *C. Lucas*, referred to " the Conſideration of this Commit- " tee, contain ſeveral Paragraphs highly, " falſely, and ſcandalouſly reflecting on " His Excellency the Earl of *Harring-* " *ton*, Lord Lieutenant of thisKingdom, " and tending to promote Sedition and " Inſurrections, and openly to juſtify " the ſeveral horrid and bloody Rebel- " lions which have been raiſed in this " Kingdom, and to create Jealouſies be- " tween his Majeſty's Subjects.

" Re-

" RESOLVED, That it appears to this
" Committee that *Charles Lucas*, of the
" City of *Dublin*, Apothecary, is the Au-
" thor of the ſaid printed Papers.

" RESOLVED, That it appears to this
" Committee that the ſaid *Charles Lu-*
" *cas* has, in ſome of ſaid printed Papers,
" ſcandalouſly and maliciouſly miſrepre-
" ſented the Proceedings of the preſent
" Houſe of Commons, and highly re-
" flected on the Honour and Dignity
" thereof.

" RESOLVED, *nemine Contradicente*,
" that the ſaid *Charles Lucas* is an Ene-
" my to his Country.

" RESOLVED, *nemine Contradicente*,
" that an humble Addreſs be preſented
" to His Excellency the Lord Lieuten-
" ant, that he will be pleaſed to direct
" His Majeſty's Attorney General to pro-
" ſecute the ſaid *Charles Lucas* for his
" Offence, in writing and publiſhing the
" ſaid ſeditious and ſcandalous Papers.

" ORDERED, *nemine Contradicente*,
" That the ſaid *Charles Lucas*, for his
" Infringement and Violation of the Pri-

" viledges of this House, be committed
" close Prisoner to his Majesty's Goal of
" *Newgate*, and that Mr. Speaker do
" issue his Warrant accordingly.

1749, *ichaelmas* Sembly t. 20th.

THAT a Petition of certain of the Commons was presented to this Assembly setting forth, That for some Time past several Papers had been printed and published, intitled, A Dedication to the King, and Addresses and Letters to the Free-Citizens and Freeholders of the City of *Dublin*, subscribed *Charles Lucas*, containing several Paragraphs highly, falsely and scandalously reflecting on His Excellency the Earl of *Harrington*, Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, and *tending* to promote Sedition and Insurrections, and openly to justify the several horrid and bloody Rebellions which have been raised in this Kingdom, and to create jealousies between His Majesty's Subjects, and also to traduce and villify the *Magistracy* of this honourable City.

PRAYING to take the same into Consideration and to disfranchise the said *Charles Lucas* from the Liberties and Franchises of the said City, for the above Offences, and to make such further Order as they should think proper.

UPON

UPON which the Corporation conceived the following Order.

" ORDERED, that the above named " *Charles Lucas* be served with a Copy " of the above Petition and this Order, " and that he be required to appear at " the *Tholsel* of the City of *Dublin*, on " the next generalQuarter-AssemblyDay " before the Assembly of the said City, " and then and there to shew Cause, if " any he can, why he should not be dis- " franchised from the Liberties and " Franchises of the said City of *Dublin*; " and in Case the said *Charles Lucas* " cannot be found to be personally serv- " ed with the said Copys of this Petiti- " on and Order, that the same be left at " his dwelling House.

THAT a Petition of certain of the Commons was presented to this Assembly, reciting the Petition to, and the Order made thereon at, *Michaelmas* Assembly, 1749. 1749, *Christmas* Assembly Jan. 19th

THAT in pursuance of said Order of Assembly, the Copy of the said Petition and Order was on the 11th of *November* last

laſt ſerved, by delivering the ſame to Mr. *William Whitehead*, Partner to the ſaid *Lucas*, at their Shop in the Dwelling Houſe of the ſaid *Lucas* on *Ormond-Quay*.

And praying in Regard therefore that the ſaid *Lucas* had not appeared to ſhew Cauſe why he ſhould not be disfranchiſed, nor offered any Thing in his Defence, that ſaid *Charles Lucas* might be disfranchiſed from the Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of *Dublin*, for the Offences above, and in the ſaid Petition mentioned.

Whereupon the following Act of Aſſembly was made.

" This Aſſembly having taken into " Conſideration, the Petition preferred " againſt *Charles Lucas* within mention- " ed, in the Name of certain of the " Commons, at laſt *Michaelmas* Aſſem- " bly, and likewiſe the Facts therein " contained, and it being proved, on " Oath, that the Copy of the ſaid Peti- " tion, and Order of Aſſembly thereon, " were ſerved agreeable to the ſaid Or- " der, and it likewiſe appearing by legal

" Evi-

" Evidence that the Facts charged a-
" gainst the said *Charles Lucas*, in the
" said Petition, are true and fully made
" out, It is therefore this Day adjudg-
" ed and determined, that the said
" *Charles Lucas* be, and is hereby, dis-
" franchised from all the Franchises and
" Liberties of the City of *Dublin*, and
" that he be from henceforth reputed
" and taken as a Foreigner to the said
" City, and that this Order be put un-
" der the City Seal.

WHICH was done accordingly.

A Petition of *Charles Lucas* was presented to this Assembly, setting forth, 1761, *Easter* Assembly Apr. 3d.

THAT about the Year 1735, he was admitted into the Franchises and Liberties of this City, and since, at different Times, into the Freedom of about twenty Corporations of this City.

THAT he had served the several Offices of the Corporation in which he was bred, and was appointed one of their Common-Council; all which Trusts he discharged with Care, Fidelity, and Zeal,

Zeal, having never had any Thing more at Heart than the true Intereſt, Honor, and Dignity of this City, and the Eſtabliſhment of Order and good Government, Peace and Concord, within her Walls, upon the only permanent Foundation, the equal Diſtribution of Juſtice and Law, the free Elections of the Magiſtrates, Repreſentatives, Officers and Servants of the City, and the Security of the Rights and Liberties of the Citizens.

THAT he is not conſcious of having ever committed any Kind of Breach, or even neglected or knowingly omitted any Part of the Duty of a Citizen or Common-Council-Man, and is the more confident of having diſcharged the ſeveral Truſts repoſed in him, becauſe he had the Honor of having his Conduct in every Sphere approved by the Commons in which he ſerved, by the Corporation for which he ſerved, and by the public Teſtimony of the greater Part of his Fellow-Citizens in their reſpective common Halls legally aſſembled.

THAT

THAT regardless of the Premises, and notwithstanding that no Citizen can be deprived of his Franchises and Liberties but upon full and open Conviction of a Breach of the Citizens Oath; he is informed that when he, for the Preservation of the Public Peace, gave up an incontestable Election for one of the Seats of this City in Parlement, and retired to apply to the Government of *Great-Britain* for Redress of the Wrongs then offered him, and this City in him, a certain Assembly in this City took upon them, in his Absence, to disfranchise him, the then Lord-Mayor taking upon him contrary to Law, and the known Usage in this City, to lock up the Commons in the same Room with the Aldermen, the better to compell them to answer his cruel Purposes; and at the Close of the sayed Assembly, when the Citizens appeared in the Court of *Darein* or *Doyer bundred* of the City to put their Negative, according to antient Right and Custom, on this dangerous and illicit Act of Assembly, the sayed Lord-Mayor taking Note of the Citizens with lighted Torches in order to determine, as he then declared, which shou'd be sent

to

to Prison, and which shou'd be reserved for severer Punishment, the Complaint of a Breach of his Lordship's Privilege as a Member of Parliament.

That he is returned from a long and painful Exile, with Intent to render his best Services to his Country and City, upon the Invitation of his fellow Citizens, that he has returned with an Heart free from Resentment or Prejudice, resolved, as far as in him lies, to promote and preserve the Freedom and Health of the Citizens, and the general Welfare and Peace of the City, and hopes to find the Assembly of the City ready to concur with him in all just Purposes.

Praying to take the Premisses into Consideration, and in order to preserve Peace and Harmony in the City, and to prevent his bringing this Complaint into the Courts of Law, to repele and obliterate an Act of Assembly so repugnant to the Principles of Law and Justice, and so contrary to the express Forms and Rules of Law; and to the accustomed and established Method of Proceeding in the Assembly of the City.

Where-

WHEREUPON it was referred to a Committee.

A MANDAMUS hath issued from His Majesty's Court of *King's-Bench*, directed to the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of this City, commanding them to admit and restore the said *Charles Lucas* into the Liberties and Franchises of the said City, bearing Test the 4th Day of *May* last, and returnable into the said Court on *Friday* next, after the Morrow of the *Holy Trinity*.

☞ THAT at the Time the said *Lucas* was disfranchised, the Sheriffs and Commons went into the Lord-Mayor and Board of Aldermens Room, and after the Petition for disfranchising said *Lucas*, and the Order made thereon, was read, the Service of the said Petition and Order, several of his Writings being proved upon Oath, and several Paragraphs contained therein being read, the Question was put by the Lord-Mayor, Whether the said *Lucas* should be disfranchised from the Liberties of this City? Upon a Division it was carried in the Affirmative.

THAT though in all other Corporate Acts the Lord-Mayor and Board of Aldermen sit separate from the Sheriffs and Commons, yet in this Instance of disfranchisement it has been the Custom that they both sit together.

COUNCIL is desired to give his Opinion whether the said Disfranchisement was legal, in Respect to the Crimes suggested therein, the Absence of *Charles Lucas*, or the Manner in which it was conducted; and whether, at this Distance of Time, it can be supported? If so, be pleased to give your Advice what Steps the City should take.

A POST-ASSEMBLY is convened to meet on *Thursday* the 21st instant, at which Time you will be pleased to have ready such Plea or Return as you shall advise to be laid before the Corporation, for their Concurrence.

The

The LAWYERS OPINION,

WE are of Opinion that the Disfranchisement was illegal, and that *Charles Lucas* ought to be restored, in Obedience to the Writ of *Mandamus*, for the following

REASONS;

THE Charge against him is too general and uncertain, to which he could not prepare a Defence. First,

THE Charges against him are not Facts, but a tendency to Facts. Secondly,

VILIFYING the Magistracy, if it had been done, would have been a Reason for binding him to his good Behaviour, but not to deprive him of his Franchises. Thirdly,

PARTICULAR Articles ought to have been exhibited against him, by the whole Corporation. Fourthly,

THE

Fifthly, THE Summons does not appear to have been ſufficient, and he not having appeared, other Summons's ſhould have been ſerved, and more Time allowed to him to have made his Defence.

Sixthly, THE Freeman's Oath ought to have appeared upon the Act of Disfranchiſement, and that the Facts therein alledged were contrary to that Oath.

Laſtly, THE Manner in which it was conducted, by the Body ſitting in one Room together, ſeems not to have been regular.

AND we think there ought to be an Act of Aſſembly made to reſtore him to his Franchiſes, and that the Lord-Mayor ſhould, upon the Back of the Writ, Return that the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens had reſtored him according to the exigency of the Writ.

18th *May*, 1761.

S. Bradſtreet.

Theo. Wolfe.

To

To the Right Honourable the LORD-MAYOR, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of *Dublin*.

The Petition of certain of the Commons,

Sheweth,

THAT at *Christmas* Assembly, 1749, *Charles Lucas*, then of the City of *Dublin* Apothecary, was disfranchised from all the Franchises and Liberties of this City of *Dublin*, and was from thenceforth to be reputed and taken as a Foreigner to the said City. 21st *May* 1761, Post Assembly.

THAT a *Mandamus* hath issued from His Majesty's Court of *King's Bench* to restore the said *Charles Lucas* into the Liberties and Franchises of the said City, tested the 4th Day of *May* instant, and returnable into said Court on *Friday* next after the Morrow of the *Holy Trinity*.

THAT upon an Examination into the said Disfranchisement, your Petitioners find the same hath been erroneously conducted; and therefore, to avoid a troublesome

blesome and expensive Litigation, your Petitioners recommend, that your Lordship and Honours obey the said Writ of *Mandamus*, by restoring said *C. Lucas* to his said Franchises.

MAY it therefore please your Lordship and Honours to repeal and obliterate the said Act of Assembly, and restore the said *C. Lucas* to the Liberties and Franchises of this City,

And they will pray.

WHEREUPON the following Order was made.

21st *May*, 1761.

ORDERED, That the Act of Assembly 1749, relative to the disfranchising the within named *Charles Lucas*, be, and is hereby repealed; and that the said *Charles Lucas* into the Liberties and Franchises of this City be, and is hereby admitted and restored.

Allowed.

FINIS.